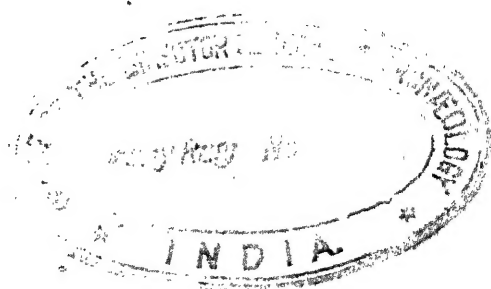


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BOOK IV.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH



BY

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.







ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-आप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकादित्येवं
तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or आप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term आप्, is the common name for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Tad-dhita affix. The word ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after ?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations : that the word *वृद्धाप्रतिपदिकान्* should qualify the words 'वृद्ध' 'अवृद्ध,' 'the letter अ,' 'अनुदात्तादि,' and 'दाच्,' wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says : "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'ni' or 'āp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares :—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix *किञ्* is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'āmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्,' because the word 'jñānām' the genitive plural of 'jñā,' is a Vṛiddha word ? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikāt' must be read into this sūtra IV. 1. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñānām' is 'jñā,' the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñā' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञयो ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brāhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor,' because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अवृद्ध' (sūtra IV. 1. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word *अन्* in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix *इञ्* is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इञ्' will apply only to the word 'दक्षस्य' in 'दक्षस्यापत्यम्' but will not apply to the words 'दक्षयोः,' or 'दक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'दक्षयोरपत्यम्,' or 'दक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इञ्' applies to all these three words,

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुवाचादेः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अम्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इम्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'स्वचः' which in construction are anudâttâdi as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'स्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, स्वच्) are udâttâdi. And conversely, the affix 'अम्' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is udâttâdi, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः', but which in its crude-form is anudâttâdi.

(5). Similarly the word 'झचः' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'ङ्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its prâtipadika state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word घटेन in the phrase 'घटेन तरति', while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'स्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'स्वचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'ny-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ:—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender."?

A. Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, "this paribhasha is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a particular prâtipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, बलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, आप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the Taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the Taddhita affix तरप् : as 'कालितरा', हरिणितरा, खट्वातरा, and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'ny-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितर ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ण्य-अप ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ण्य-अप, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्गुष्टाभ्यांभिसुडेभ्यांभ्यस्डसिभ्यांभ्यस्डसोसामङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम-औद्-शस्, दा-भ्यां-भिसु, डे-भ्यां-भ्यस्, डसि-भ्यां-भ्यस्,
डस् ओस्-आम, डि-ओस्-सुप् (ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	aut (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	tā (ā)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ñe (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ñasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	ñas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ñi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like उ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyâhâra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारी ; by डीप् as, गौरी ; by डीन् as शार्ङ्गखी ; by दाप् as खट्वा ; by डाप् as बहुराजा ; and by चाप् as कारीष-गन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prâtipadika. as, वृषद् ।

कुमारी ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु

खट्वा ।

1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वाया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वानाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु

हृषद् ।

1st	हृषद्	हृषदौ	हृषदः
2nd	हृषदम्	हृषदौ	हृषदः
3rd	हृषदा	हृषद्भ्याम्	हृषदाभिः
4th	हृषदे	हृषद्भ्याम्	हृषद्भ्यः
5th	हृषदः	हृषद्भ्याम्	हृषद्भ्यः
6th	हृषदः	हृषदोः	हृषदाम्
7th	हृषदि	हृषदोः	हृषत्सु

The words गौरी and शार्ङ्गरवी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुराजा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्'; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाम् ड्याप्त्रा०) ॥

शुचिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अत् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory त् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtira should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभंया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभंयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmânî'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|---------|-------|----------|--------|
| 1. अज | अजा | 2. एडक | एडका | 3. कोकिल | कोकिला |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अश्व | अश्वा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nîsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | 9. पाक | पाका |
| 10. वत्स | वत्सा | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलात | विलाता |

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'डीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहारण | अपरापहारणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being दिव्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sūtra.

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| 15. संफल, | संफला; | 16. भस्त्रफल; | भस्त्रफला; |
| 17. अजिनफल, | अजिनफला; | 18. शणफल, | शणफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | 20. त्रिफल, | त्रिफला; |

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class ; 'विफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as विफला; when a Bahuvrīhi Compound, its feminine is विफली ॥

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प, | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प, | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. I. 64.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras : and this compound word would have taken the affix 'दाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra'. This objection is futile : the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती

28. कुंब् कुंभा 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविश् देवविशा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'दाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'णिष्' by IV. I. 46.

34. असूल असूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle naḥ, would have otherwise taken 'णिष्' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योऽङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो नकारान्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई। Thus, कर्हं ;—f. कर्ही; हर्तुं—f. हर्ती; इण्डिन्—f. इण्डिनी; छत्रिन्,—f. छत्रिनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग इत् यत्रसंभवति यथा कथंचित् तदुगिच्छद्भरूपं, तदन्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धातोरुगितः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अंचते श्रोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ऋ or लृ) the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ऋ and लृ। Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित्। That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शत, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as तृ meaning त् in VI. 4. 127, ("तृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्बन् &c")

Thus, भवत् 'honored' sir.—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचत् (formed by adding शत III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुम comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्वत् अर्वती 'a mare'.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots हसु 'to fall down', ध्वसु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उखासत् and पर्णध्वत्, (III. 2. 76). The उखासत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप्।

Vārt:—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप्। As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उदीची ॥

वनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति रेफश्चान्तादेशः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वनो न हश्च ॥

7. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable वन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f. पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शृ + वनिष् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light. So also परलोकहृषरी ॥

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes इवनिप्, (III. 2. 103) वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Vārti:—If the affix वन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हश्, (a letter of हश् pratyāhāḥa), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of न् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhman brother or sister in arms'. In शर्वन् the वन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हश् class, but as वन् is not ordained to be applied to शर् but to श्, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence शर्वरी ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पाव् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पव् by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पात् or चतुष्पदी ॥

टावृत्ति ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टाप्, ऋचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न षट् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, षट्, स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्त्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇī ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrâdi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus शमन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—I. S. शमा; d. शमानौ, pl. शमानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇâdi IV. 144) in the words शमन् (शे + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhâsha :—अनिनसमन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त्रन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrîhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुपर्वन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुपर्वा, सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrîhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आंतराजन् is an Avyayibhâva compound, its feminine will be अतिराजी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्यां मनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्त्रन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डप्, the letter ड् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डप् = पाम् + आ = पामा, This being an optional rule we have 1. ५ पामा ढ्, पामे or पामानौ, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say “optionally” ? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of डीप् are optional · we may apply the affix डप् instead. As :— बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to ‘upasarjanas’. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, [is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sūtra declares “the affix णिप् is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative ह्, & c.” Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix च (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by डीप् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—f मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix डीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take डीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा or बहुमद्रचरा मधुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, “the affix डीप् is added after words denoting jāti” as, कुक्कुटी, शुकरी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, ‘nīsh’ will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुटी बहुशुकरी मधुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकाली, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply डीप् by IV. I. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

दिङ्दानञ्द्वयसञ्जद्वयमात्रचतयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करणः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
दित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसञ्-द्वयच-मात्रच-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-करणः (अतः स्त्रिया-
म् डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्दिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञ्प्रसङ्गीकक्युनृत्तर्णतलुनानामुपसेख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix डीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative ढ, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ्, or द्वयसञ्, or द्वयच, or मात्रच, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. I. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टाप् of IV. I. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f., मद्रचरी (चर+ई=चर्+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ढ (III. 2. 16). of which ढ is indicative.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix डीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix ज्ञानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लङ् ; and because लङ् has an indicative ढ, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicative ढ (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लङ् is not दित् as it has two indicative letters, ल् and ढ'.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ल्युङ् should also be called no दित् affixes, as they have also two indicative letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ल्युङ् be not regarded दित्, then the indicative ढ of ल्युङ् finds no scope any where: as the indicative ढ of लङ् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-

catory इ of augments will not cause the application of the affix डीप् ; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not इ. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment लुट् is added to the affixes इप् and डुप्". If the इ of लुट् could have made the affix डित् for the purposes of this present sūtra ; the anubandha इ had been unnecessarily added to the affixes डु and डल in the above.

(2) Of words ending in इ we have, m, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वैनेतेयी. The इ stands for the affix इक् ; and it is replaced by एङ् (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा + इक् (IV. 1. 120) = सुपर्णा + एङ् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely इ without any indicatory letters ; and denoting the feminine ; the only affix, as said above, is इक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the इ of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less इ of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अण्, we have already said that the affix अण् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'an'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'an' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'an' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ण are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ण are not so treated, as हाण्डा, मौष्टा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औत्पान, f. औत्पानी (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix डीप् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix डीप् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 ; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ñish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes इयस्, इयस्, and मात्रस् are added by V. 2. 37 ; as, जरुहयसी, जरुहयसी, जरुहयसी 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुहयसी, जानुहयसी, जानुहयसी

(6) So also with words formed by तयस् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in इक् (IV. 4. 1) as, आक्षिकी 'a female dicer', शालाक्षिकी. The इ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in इङ् (V. 1. 18) : as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes इक् and इङ् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix इङ् &c. For had the word इ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes इक्, इङ् and इङ्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60) as, यादृशी, तादृशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इत्वरि 'swift', नश्वरी ॥

Vart :—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and स्तञ् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकृक् (IV. 4. 59) and ख्युन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रेणी 'a female', पौंस्त्री 'a male', शान्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यंकरणी 'enriching ; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कतव्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vart :—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेय of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वेय्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचामाचार्याणां संतन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'nish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्यायणी ; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after आवव्य' ॥ Here आवव्य ends in यञ्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word आवव्य would have taken the affix णिप्: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added. Thus आवव्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,
(यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां षफः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata', when they take the affix yan.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix षफ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prātipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कपि, and not to the word कुरुकत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, शांशित्यायनी बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

Kārikā कण्वास्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतादुत्तर इष्यते ।
पूर्वोत्तरौ तदन्तारी षफाणौ तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of षफ and अण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately *before* कण्व and *after* कत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी (with षफ), and शकलः with अण्, meaning शाकल्यस्येमे छात्राः 'the pupils of Sākalya'.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्याञ्च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्; च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां षफः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरामुरेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by दाप् (IV. 1. 4), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

Vārt.—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इञ् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शषिक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यथातिपदिकं श्रुत्यावर्तते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age'? Observe स्थविरा 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vārt.—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus बधूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानशया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus दशपूली, पञ्चपूली ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अञ्ज' &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (डीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणन्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'ñip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaḥs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. I. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix षष्ठ् (V. I. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. I. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 Vart.) So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, आचिता, तपाचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'?' Observe द्वादही, त्र्यादही "a female purchased for two or three āḍhaka". Here āḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ñip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डशब्दान्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vartika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'âp' but by दाप्; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषशब्दस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीष्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी पत्नि 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samāhāra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीष् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधस्, डीष् (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् शब्दान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीष्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डो-धस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. *ante*; the present sūtra enjoins डीष् instead. Thus कुण्डोऽन्नी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; घटोऽन्नी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्रा-प्तायाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोधा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे डीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, डीप् (बहुव्रीहे रूधसः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्व्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरूधसश्चान्तात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix डीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'nîp', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'nîsh'. Thus द्वी+ऊधस्+अनङ्+डीप् (V. 4. 131)=द्व्यूधी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूधी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्य्यूधी 'many-uddered'; निर्यूधी 'having no udders'.

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोष्ठी and त्रिविधोष्ठी, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहे दामशब्दान्ताद्वायनशब्दान्ताच्च स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix डीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of डीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nîp optionally: the present sûtra ordains nîp to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विदाम्नी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिदाम्नी ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no nîp here:—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ण; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ण and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अ-
न्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपो तस्मादन्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying णिप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when णिप् is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition 'contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणि ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्वचनन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or न) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधा-लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चराक्षी, एकराक्षी, द्विराक्षी 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमूर्ध्ना समानमूर्ध्ना ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥
केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्थकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, (संज्ञाछ-
न्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामंकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी and भागधेया; पापी and पापा; अपरी as उताऽपरोऽभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्विषयास्त्यव संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिश्चात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अजसादिप्रतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री सृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

Vārt.—According to Kātyāyana, nīp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रि सहोषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the डीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्डिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātrī' which is formed by the feminine affix nīp; and not by nīsh. The forms evolved by adding डीप् or डीप् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by nīsh has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes डीप् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुक् भवति डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix डीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take णिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वती and पतिवती ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following:—ग्रथते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वती; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मनुप्). Because मनुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मनुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 9 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नृक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्त्वती or सान्त्वती देवानुपैत् ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नोयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पति वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पत्नी means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmanī is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पत्नी means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sūdra, for a Sūdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पत्नी is, however, extended to the wife of a Sūdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sūdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥३४॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāshā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)
वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं वत्युर्नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां डीप्)
वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामैकारादेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कतवः) are sanctified (पूतः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त एकारादेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीद have udātta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sū II. 19), the feminine of these has udātta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udātta on the final (Phiṭ sū I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udātta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva, even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसितायी 'the wife of Kusidai. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. I. 203.

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यत्वात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चान्तादेशः ऐकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udātta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu. The word मनु has udātta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix ड (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा डीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात्कारोपधाद्वाडीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पिशाङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्कमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix डीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so श्वेता or श्वेती 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. I. 197 (अनित्यान्तिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory न् or त् have udātta accent on the first vowel";)

because these words are formed by the Uṇadi affixes तन् (Uṇ III. 86) and इतन् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् “of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel”).

Why do we say “expressive of color”? Observe प्रहता, प्रहता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (शतिरनन्तरः “the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *gati* word with a word formed by the affix *ktu*”). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take *ñip*.

Why do we say “ending in a gravely accented vowel”? Observe श्वेता ‘white.’ Here though the word expresses ‘color’, yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phiṭ sūtra I. 21 वृतादीनां च “the words *ghṛita* &c. have udātta on the final”).

Why do we say “having the letter त as its penultimate letter”? Otherwise the affix *ñish* will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिर्ब्राह्मणी ‘a black Brahmanī woman’. Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त, has anudātta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end with अ, its feminine is not formed with *ñip*.

Vart:—The affix *ñip* comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी ‘of tawny color’.

Vart:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता ‘black’ and पलिता ‘grey’.

Vart:—According to some, the substitute कृष् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्री (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्री (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic:—As गतो गणस्तूर्णमसिक्रिकानाम् ॥

अन्यतोडीष् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीष्, (वर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* त as penultimate. The difference between *ñip* and *ñish* affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus-सारङ्गी, कल्पायी, शबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

विद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विद्भ्यः प्रातिपादिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix डीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वन्) the affix ष्वन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take णिष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रजकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c. ; as गौरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurādi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 मनुष्य, 4 शूद्र, 5 पिङ्गल 6 हय, 7 गवय, 8 मुकय, 9 कृष्य, 10 पुट, 11 तृण 12 द्रुण, 13 द्रोण, 14 हरिण, 15 कौकण, (काकण,) 16 पटर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुवल, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बदर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 सलर, 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 आलिन्द 33 गडुज, 34 पाण्डश 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 सृपाद, 39 आखक (आपक्षिक), 40 शष्कुल, 41 सूर्य, (सूर्म) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 शूष (पूष) 45 शूय, 46 सूप, 47 मेथ, 48 वल्क, 49 धातक, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृ-स) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मठ, 61 छेद, 62 पेश, 63 मेद, 64 श्वन् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनड्वाही, 68 । एषणः करणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकादन 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औसाहमानि (औसाहमानि) 77 गौतम (गो-तम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अयःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिङ्गि, 83 धान 84 मेध, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलजि, 87 आलब्धि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक. 91 आरद, 92 नट, 93 टोट, 94 नोट, 95 मूलद, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानद) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलात्सङ्गायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पट, 113 पिण्ड, 114 षण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुर्द, 117 शर्म, 118 सूद, 119 औड (आर्द) 120 हर् (हर्) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कदर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बहत्, 131 महत्, 132 सोम, 133 सौधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 विकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छोणिवचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कोशातकी, 143 शमी, 144 वरी, 145 शरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्ट, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेढ, 151 सुब, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलक. 154 आलिङ्गि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 दहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मत्स्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate य would

not have taken णिप् (IV. 1. 63) but for this sūtra; श्वन् and सक्षन् would have taken डाप् (IV. 1. 13), एषण is formed by ल्युट् and would have taken णिप् (IV. 1. 15) इष्यतेऽनया = एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take णिन् also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *partika* मातरि षिच् given under IV. 2. 36, the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word मातामह will take डीष् because it is षित्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of डीष् application, because a word is षित्, is not universal (अनित्यः षित् लक्षणो डीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like हंष्टा &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवराद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृति माश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जानपद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरात्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अवपन-अकृतिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix डीष् is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कवर; the affix डीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपती, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अच् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix डीष् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यच्च धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोदकं पारिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) रीजो 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix णिश् in the feminine; otherwise राप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vāchana word it takes डीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काल 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौः, or नीली वडवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नीला 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दाच्चाचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'. By *Phit Sūtra* II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udātta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken डीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a *niyama* rule and restricts the application of डीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

वोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रातिपदिकाद् उकारान्तात् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् डीषाद्युपसर्गार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खरसंयोगोपधात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhyā* or *sarvanāman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (*Guide to Paṇini*). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पट्वी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आखुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vart :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix णिप् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-

cented. As, वस्वी ॥ वसु is formed by उ (Vñ I. 10) and is ādyudatta because the उ is नित् ॥

Vārti :—Prohibition must be stated after the word खरु, and words though ending in short उ, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As खरुरियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु व्रज्यते ।

आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बहुादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvādi class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्मति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अङ्कति, 5 अंहति, 6 शक्ति, (शक्ति), 7 शक्तिः शस्त्रे, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 यष्टि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राप्यंगात् । 18 कृदिकाराशक्तिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽक्तिन्नर्यादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 अराल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कट, 27 भरुज, 28 ध्वज, 29 चन्द्र-भागान्नद्याम् (चन्द्रभागा नद्याम्) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुराण, 33 अहन, 34 क्रोड, 35 नख, 36 खुर, 37 शिखा, 38 बाल, 39 शफ, 40 गुद ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राग इत्यादि ॥

The affix *nīsh* also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals ; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a *kṛit* affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥ Some say that the feminine affix *nīsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a *guṇa*-word and would have *optionally* taken *nīsh* even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it *necessarily* takes *nīsh* in the Chhandas. It is an Ākritigaṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बहुादिभ्यः स्त्रियां-डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुादिभ्यः छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हित्वा प्रपिवन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a herb.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' ? would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योक्तिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भश्चिन्त्य योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विन्वी, प्रन्वी, सुन्वी, शम्बी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम्भूः ? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विन्वी &c. are feminine of विभु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उक्तः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sûtra IV. I. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवङ्; this form being confined to sūtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगोत्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्वेत्तो रथ्यातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्चते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मान् डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चाङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsâ) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामन्त्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रधी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by दाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sūtra will not apply.

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattâ, and Yajñadattâ, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sūtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिका and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sûrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sûrya', while सूरि will denote a human wife of Sûrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had ङीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then दाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमरण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-रण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,
(स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमरण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवाहोषे ॥

वा० ॥ यवनाल्लिप्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यादणत्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यांवा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्रलाच्छन्दसि लिच् ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛida'.

Vart :—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vart :—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

Vart :—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vart :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

Vart :—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vart :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishyā class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—In the Chhandas, the affix डीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुद्गल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ल् ॥ The force of the indicatory ल् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रथारभून् मुद्गलानी गविष्टौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दशान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix डीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse :—
सा हितस्य धनक्रीता प्राणेष्वपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix दाप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्वने: "Gati, Kāraḥ and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वाध्यातपदिकात् क्तान्तदल्पाख्यायां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्या-याम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अभ्रविलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ती पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmaṇī lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (कात् स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्योऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थ विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनश्चसुकाल सुखादिपूर्वादि वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तान् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svāṅga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svāṅga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंखभिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोत्कृची (गलमुत्कृत्तमस्या), केशलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishṭhā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words शंख &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe पादपतित्ता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'; स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vārt*.

Vārt:—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्याः पाणिगृहीते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vārt:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नञ्, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, सवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or दुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् कात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् कान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus शार्ङ्गजग्ध, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170), but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svānga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be शार्ङ्गजग्धी or शार्ङ्गजग्धा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe शंखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वस्त्रच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vart:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As प्रवृद्धविलुनी or प्रवृद्धविलुना ॥

स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां डीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गयदुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्प्रातिपादिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गात्कण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix डीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛitti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, कान्तादन्तोरात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛitti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुयवा 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपार्श्वा ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गान्न and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus सुवृङ्गी or सुवृङ्गा; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वाङ्ग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse:—

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।

अतस्स्थं तत्रवृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is *svāṅga*; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृंगाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृंगात्, च, (स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पश्चाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीष् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्ग 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठा, दीर्घजंघी or दीर्घजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिवह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्ताद् बहुजन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीष् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c. of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is ākriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याण खुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याणबाला, कल्याणशफा, कल्याणगुदा, कल्याणघाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाललाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus स्रक्श, अक्श विद्यमानक्श ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमान-नासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. I. 55 ante: as well as IV. I. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीप् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śarpaṇakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa'. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम्) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, कालमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजीह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीप् would not have applied to it by IV. I. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीप् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजिह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेद् ।

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvī* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvī* in the sūtra, it is indicated that the application of डीप् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् डीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदान्, डीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been डीष्, the present enjoins डीष् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix डीष् being anudātta (III. 1. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङनासिकी or प्रांनासिका, But not so in प्राङ्मुखा ; or प्राक्कोडा or प्राङ्जघना because these words do not take डीष् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीष् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीष् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svānga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but डीष् is not added to Compounds ending in कोडा &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated “डीष् is the substitute of डीष् when the first member is a word denoting direction”. Therefore the affix डीष् will come only there, where else the affix डीष् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीष् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. 1. 61) and not that of डीष् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीष्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix णि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a “word ending in vāh.” Thus दित्यौही ‘sustaining the demon.’ This form is thus evolved :—दित्य + वाह + डीष् = दित्य + ऊह + आह + डीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह, Uṭh is the samprasārana of vāh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊह + डीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च ‘after a samprasārana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute’, = दित्यौही (VI. 1. 89 एवधत्तृदसु ‘vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ūth* follow’). Similarly प्रवौही ‘a young heifer training for the plough.’

सख्यशिश्नीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिश्नी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिश्नी इत्येतौशब्दौ डीष्न्तौ भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिश्नी are irregular forms ending in डीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नात्याः शिशस्तीति = अशिश्नी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपदी भव and अशिशुमिव मामयं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वी ॥ सखा सप्तपदी भव ॥

जातेरस्त्री विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अस्त्रीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपदिकं नच स्त्रियमेव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधंच तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे हय गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word denoting a jâti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sûtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; सूकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brâhmani'; वृषली 'a woman of the Sûdra caste', नाडायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chârâyaṇī', कदी 'a woman of Brahmins who read the Kāṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmins who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jâti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jâti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vârt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate य् viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य् of matsya is elided by the vârtika 'मत्स्यस्य ऊङ्गाम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken डीष् independently of this vârtika.

Another definition of jâti is :—

प्रादुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्गुणैः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बह्व्यां तां जातौ कवयो विदुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाच्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदात् तु यतोनेष्यते तदजादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सत्प्राक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्नञः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus ओदनपाकी शंकुकुर्णी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली दर्भमूली, and गोबाली ॥

When, however the affix डीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां डीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इय उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dākshī'. Thur अवन्ति + ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) आवन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. प्लाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दारत् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men"? Witness तिलिपिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that डीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य्. Thus औदमयी ॥

Vart.—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतगमी, मौनचिन्नी ॥ The affix इञ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c, and does not denote a jāti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेभ्यश्चरज्जवादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कूरुः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धुः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धुः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कुरु (कुरु + उ = कुरु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, in Bahuvrîhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धुः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter य् as its penultimate"? Witness अथ्यैर्ब्राह्मणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart:—The affix ऊङ्. comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाहूः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुशब्दान्ता व्यातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृण्बाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्गोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पङ्गुशब्दात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वसुरत्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'.

Vart:—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वसुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter ष of the word. As श्वश्वः 'mother-in-law' This debars the punyoga डीष् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकादौपम्ये गम्यमाने स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कवलास्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नासासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेण)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचक्रे च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादेः प्रातिपदिकादूरुत्तरपदात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)'. शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot,' लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.'

Vart:—So also with the words सहित and सह. As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुश्चै सुपर्णी च ॥ मास्मकमण्डलुं शुद्राय दद्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vart:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुः, मधुः, जतुः, and पतयालुः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अच्छन्दोर्थे वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु.

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रू : 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa', कमण्डलू : 'Kamaṇḍalû'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रू : 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलू : 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो डीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अञः, डीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽञन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix डीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kâpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida'. और्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debar the affix डीष् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jāti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that डीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the डीष् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between डीष् and डीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by डीन् will have udâtta accent on the first syllable ङित्यादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory झ् or न् has udâtta accent on the first syllable) : while the word formed by डीष् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida', and बैदी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 बैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अञ् the first four being formed by the अञ् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृगद, कपट, गुगुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अञ् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मकृत्येय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123) except kâmaṇḍaleya which is formed by ढञ् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौज्जायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 शैव्य are formed by व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Un IV. 117 सर्व धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आभ्रमरथ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105). 20 औदपान is formed by अञ् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिवत् ॥ These take डीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुष्, and are consequently उगित्, and should have taken डीष् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains डीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by घञ् and गौरि is formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95), both are âdyuddâtta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When मनुष् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for matuṣ being पितृ is anudâtta (III. 1. 4), There-

fore whether डीप् be added or डीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain âdyudâtta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply चादिषु नित्यम् ह्रस्वार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken डीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking डीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra उगितश्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by डीन् ॥

26 नृ 27 नर. The word नृ would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken डीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛiddhi before डीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । व्यङ्ः व्यङ्ग्य सामान्यग्रहणमेतत् ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ पाठ यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix व्यङ् or व्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and व्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठया 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvīrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्त्या, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यङ् when the letter प् immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken डीप् ॥

The प् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term आप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment व्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the य when पुत्र or पति is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः and not गौकाक्षीपुत्रः ॥

आवल्याश्च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवल्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवल्याश्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवट्य ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking यम्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवट्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवट्यायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानि स ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Prātipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य जाञौ ॥ अमादि पश्चाद् डिनम् ॥ As पार्थिव, अभिन, आदिन, पश्चिम ॥ See Vārt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्शब्दात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, डीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debarb it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix डीप् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a 'feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अना-
र्षयोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, ष्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावणिञौ विहितावनार्षौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां ष्यङ्देशो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उत्तमशब्दः स्वभावान् त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यक्षरमाह उत्तमस्य समीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इञ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (व्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिञोः 'of अण् and इञ्,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरु-पोचमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) व्यङ् 'the substitute is shyan' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by व्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like दाक्षि &c.

Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ष and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष differentiating this affix from व्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) Replace this affix by व्यङ् and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धिः gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in sūtra अतइञ् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहिः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्' ॥ Witness आर्तभाग from कृतभाग ॥ Here the word कृतभाग belongs to विशदि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अञ् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अञ् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औषगवी and कापटवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां व्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिञोरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुणिकमुणिकमुखरप्रभृतयः, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिञोः स्त्रियां व्यङ्गादेशो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अणिञोः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरुपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, शुणिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus पौणिक्या, भौणिक्या and मौखर्या ॥

The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like दैवक्या याज्ञक्या ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down; can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however, technically called कुल ॥

कौड्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ कौडि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां प्यङ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कौडि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां प्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरुपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भः । अनणिञर्थश्च ॥

80. The affix प्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इम् ॥ In fact प्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौड्या 'a female Krauḍī', लाड्या 'a female Lāḍī'. The following is the list of Krauḍādi words :—

1 कौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति. These are formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95). 6 चौपयत्, 7 चैदयत् (वैदयत्), 8 सैकयत् (सैकयत्) 9 वैल्वयत् (वैकल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि. This is formed by इम् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97) added to सुधात् ॥ 11 सूतयुवत्याम्. The word सूत takes प्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden as सूत्याः; otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by टप्, or सूती by डीष् denoting a jāti. 12 भोज क्षत्रिये ॥ This debars डीष् of jāti as भोज्याः; otherwise टप् as भोज्ञाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौदि, 15 भौरिक्की, 16 भौलिकि, 17 शाल्मलि, 18 शालास्थलि, 19 कापिष्ठलि, 20 गौकश्य (गौलश्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इम्, the last is formed by यञ् of Garg-ādi class.

दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रिं काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यांप्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix प्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

These words end in the affix इष्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when ष्यङ् is not added, डीष् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 *ante*. Thus देवयज्ञ्या or देवयज्ञी, so also शौचिवृक्ष्या or शौचिवृक्षी, सात्यमुन्या or सात्युमी, काण्डेविद्या or काण्डेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ . पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिभ्रायमधिकारः । प्राग्विशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोपि तत्रानवस्थितः, के चिन्नित्यमेव भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागात्, तत्रभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामर्थ्ये सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation : that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्विशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक) ; for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his' : i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As 'उपगोरपत्यं = औपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix अण् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्तं रागात् (IV. 2. 1) ; here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which' ; as कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम्, 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kāshāya*'. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as सुप्ते भवः = सौप्ते: "who stays in Srughna'.

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the first is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्यं देवदास्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्यं are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदास्य ॥ Why do we say "after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case, Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the Taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samāsa); as उपगवपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samāsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4 2. because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samāsa rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional".

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्संशब्दनाम् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism *tena dīvyati* &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adhikāra* sūtra or a *paribhāṣā* sūtra or a *vidhi* sūtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As औपगवः 'the son of उपगुः'; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. 1. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्वीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'aśvapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecededly to tena dīvyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अश्वपति + अण् = अश्वपतम् (VII. 2 117 तद्धितेष्वचामादि 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory ञ् or ण्, there is vṛddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or अ or आ, of a bha'.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्यपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 समापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यादित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इति अस्ति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्वीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पृथिव्या आम्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवाद्यम्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषष्टिलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ्च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ् छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थासोकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लोमोपत्येषु बहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यादयोर्थविशेषलक्षणादपवासात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecededly to tena dīvyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus इति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi', आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यं; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word यम; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vārt :—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमत् ॥ As वाच्यम् (Vs, 13, 58.) नात्यम् and पैतृमत्यम् ॥

Vātr :—The affixes ऋ and अऋ come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ऋ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अऋ = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवी by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

Vārt :—The affixes यस् and अस् come after the word देव 'a god'. As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine'.

Vārt :—There is elision of the टि of बहिस्, and there is the affix यस् ; as बहिस् + यस् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt* :—and the affix ईकक् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकक् = बाहीकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vṛiddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicatory क्). *Vārt* :—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकस् as बाहीकः the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its टि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ bha. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the टि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya आरात् we get आराती &c ; here the टि is not elided.

Vārt :—Of the word स्थान् the टि is replaced by अ as अस्थायामः ॥

Vārt :—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as उडुलोमाः, शारलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness औडुलोमिः, शारलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

Vārt :—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यत् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel' ? Observe गोभ्यो हितं or आगतं = गोरुप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Vārt :—These affixes प्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words हिति &c अण् will not be employed, but प्य, as दैत्य "a descendant of हिति". So also वानस्पत्यम् = (वानस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word हिति but from हित्ती, the feminine of the word हिति, formed by the affix डीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word हिति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word हित्ती is added ढक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣā प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form हैतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣya or any Vārtika.

उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्ग्रीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तत्पवासानां च बाधकः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ ग्रीष्माच्छन्सीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dīvyati &c.

This debarb the affix अण् taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औत्पानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उद्पान, 9 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर 6 मरानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अतुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशानर, 20 ग्रीष्म, 21 पौलकुण. । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृष देश, 24 भल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्येदिन, 28 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 30 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुम्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 ग्रीष्माच्छन्सीति ॥

Vārt.—The word ग्रीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : ग्रीष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But ग्रीष्मः 'belonging to summer'. The word छन्स here means 'metre', and not Veda. The word वष्कयासे = वष्क्य असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Gram-marians). Thus the compound will be गोवष्कयिः ॥ The Paribhāṣā महणवत् प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः ; otherwise औदस्थनिः 'the son of Udashthāna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take अण्, as पृषतोऽञ्शः ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् स्त्री भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्येनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञानाद्यर्थास्तेषु स्त्री शब्दात्सुशब्दाद्य यथाक्रमं नञ्स्त्री प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

87. The affixes नञ् and स्त्री come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम् 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various, Therefore

the word स्त्रैणम् will have all those various significations ; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवे (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रिणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,; or स्त्रीभ्यआगतं (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंस + लम् = पौलम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुवत् (and not पौस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, the affix लम् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीत्वं, स्त्रीता, पुंस्त्वं and पुंस्त्वा are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The स of पुंस is elided before लम् by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix नम् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्यः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राग्शीव्यतीयोऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुग्भवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग्शीव्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः 'who studies three Vedas.' Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and अधीते (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic." ? Observe द्वेदेवदत्तिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रैदेवदत्तिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas,' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati ?" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्येदं = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashtī, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samahâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्याः, पाञ्चनदः and षाट्कुलः ? The word त्रैविद्याः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पंचसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः, पंचनदे भवः = पंचनदः ॥ So also with षाट्कुलं ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पंचभ्यो गन्तव्य आगतं = पंचगर्गरूप्यम् or पंचगर्गमयम् ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादिभ्यो गोत्रइत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजादौ प्राग् दीव्यतीये विषयभूते प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sûtras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a prâgdīvyatiya affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151), and not गरीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः, disciples of Vâtsyas, Atreya, Khârpâyâṇas.

Why do we say “गोत्रे” i. e. “when the Gotra affix is elided”? Observe कौबलम्, बादरम् ॥ Here the affix denoting “fruit” is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the prâgdīvyatiya affix अण् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बदरी is बादरम् ; from which बादरम् ‘belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.’

Why do we say “having an initial vowel”? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम् ; and गर्गमयम् ; and not गार्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य

a *prâgdîvyatiya* affix taught in *sûtra* IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix मयद् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prâgdîvyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in *Sûtra* V. 1. 5 not one of the *prâgdîvyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The Gotra-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus बिद् will form its Gotra derivative by अम् (IV. 1. 104) as बिद् + अम् = बैद्: ॥ The plural of बैद् will be बिदा: by the elision of अम् ॥ One yuvan or two yuvan descendants of these बिदा: will be formed by the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word बिदा: will be supposed not to have lost its अम्, therefore इम् will be added to बैद्, thus बैद् + इम्; then this इम् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is बैद्, बैदौ ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one बैद्: or two बैद्: will be बिदा: ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीव्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धिस्थेऽनुस्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prâgdîvyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prâgdîvyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (Gotra) of फाण्डाहन्तः is फाण्डाहन्तिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इम् ॥ The Yuvan form of the latter (by *Sûtra* IV. 1. 150) will be फाण्डाहन्तः ॥ When we intend to add a *Prâgdîvyatiya* affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the Yuvan affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word फाण्डाहन्तः ॥ Having done which we get the form फाण्डाहन्ति; and it is with regard to this form फाण्डाहन्ति that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by *sûtra* IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus फाण्डाहन्ति + अण् = फाण्डाहन्ताः 'the pupils of Phântâhritas'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the Yuvan word फाण्डाहन्तः, such affix would have been छ and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवन्त is भागवन्ति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागवित्ति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhāgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिक is तैकायनि formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयाः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाद् is कपिञ्जलादिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जलाद्यः (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जलाद्य will be कापिञ्जलाद्वाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112) formed from ग्लुचुकायनि ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe फाण्डाहतरुप्यम् and फाण्डाहतरमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prāgdīvyātiya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हितं = भागवित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sūtra).

फक्फिओरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक्-फिओः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिओर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजासौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prāgdīvyātiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sūtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gārgyāṇa will be गार्गीया or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वात्सीयाः or वात्स्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yāskāyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्देशाय, पूर्वैरुत्तरश्च प्रत्ययैरभिसेव्यते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्प्रत्ययेतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टपञ्चमार्थोऽपत्यमात्रश्चेह गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, प्य, अन् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is :—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आश्वपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अश्वपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रेणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. पौत्सः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 अण् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix अण् &c in the case of तस्येदम् ॥ How can an अवैषिक affix debar a वैषिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes अण् &c are treated like वैषिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes अण् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Vṛiddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं=भानवः, so also श्यामगवः from श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य) ॥

Kārikā तस्येदमित्यपत्येपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे नियमः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इञ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः यून्यपत्ये विवक्षितं गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यन्तरयुवभ्यः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra) : but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायणः, दाक्षायणः, ब्राह्मणः, औपगाविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly ब्राह्मी feminine of ब्राह्मिः and ब्राह्मणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इञ् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter त् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभेयाः or कीलालपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sūtra is दशरथिः, but the form दशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रसीयताम् दशरथाय मैथिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोऽन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिशब्दानां च तत्सङ्गशास्त्रातिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इङ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इङ्. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निवाकु, 5 शिवाकु, 6 वदाकु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपाविन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 वृडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मुषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला (छगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 दुर्मित्रा, 19 पुष्करसङ्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदङ्मु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माष, 35 शाराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवद्विन्, 38 शङ्खलतोविन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 वृडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाड्विः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इङ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहवः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

सुधातुरकङ् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातुशब्दादपत्ये इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौ च तस्याकङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri.'

Vârt:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः, नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च् फञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके उपत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter झ is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix च्फञ् take the further affix य (ज्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter झ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by आयन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + य = कौञ्जायन्. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ज्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्गज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौधायन्यः, ब्रौधायन्यौ, ब्राधायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter झ् of the affix ज्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च् of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध, 3 शङ्ख, 4 भस्मन् 5 गण, 6 लोमन्, 7 शट, 8 शाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाशु, 12 स्कन्ध, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 शकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुम्भ-
यि ॥

नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडाग्र्यः (नड + फक् = नाड + आग्र्य VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चाराग्र्यः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकाग्र्यः ॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. आग्निशर्मणिणः = वार्ष्ण-गण्यः ; otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form काष्णाग्र्यः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant ; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राणाग्र्यः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राणिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रौष्टाग्र्यः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुंज, 5 इतिक, 6 हतित, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 ल-
मक । 10 शलंकु शलङ्क च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे । 15 प्राण
16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 कि-
ङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 काल्य (काव्य) 30 अज,
31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिङ्ग, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार,
37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च । 38 लोहं, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशपा, 42 अग्र, 43 वृण, 44 शकट,
45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 अच, 49 जलंधर, 50 अध्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक,
53 ण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60
ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अन्न, 68 कासुक,
69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 ण्डप, 74 जत्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वान-
ध्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत्, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इक्ष्वा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽजः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अजः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्विशद्यन्तर्गणः । हरितादिभ्यो ऽजन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of बिह् class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्). The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारिताग्र्यः "the son of Hārīta or the great-grandson of Hārīta". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अम् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यजिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इञोः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्तादिञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix फक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्यायणः ॥ दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः ; दाक्षि + फक् = दाक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix फक् ; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुर्यिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, शुनक, दर्भा-
त्, भृगु, वत्स, आग्रायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साग्रायणेष्वर्थेष्वपत्यविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Agrāyana respectively.

Thus शरद्वत्तायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शरद्वत्तः (formed by अम्) शौनकायनः = वात्स्यः ; otherwise शौनकः, दर्भायणः = आग्रायणः, otherwise दाभिः, (formed by इञ् IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and शुनक belonging to बिदादि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अम् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यजन्यतरस्यां फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jivanta.'

This debarb इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रौणायनः or द्रौणिः, पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix कृ is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः”? The द्रौण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्यं विदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनृषि-आनन्तर्यं, विदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । विदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽनृष्येत्ययो भवति । ये पुनरत्रानृषिशब्दाः पुत्रादयस्तेभ्योऽनन्तरापत्य एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यइत्यस्यायमर्थः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant : but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words : अनृषि “non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage” ; आनन्तर्यं ‘in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” विदादिभ्य “after Bidâdi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ दुहितृ daughter,’ ननान्द ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः ‘grand-son.’ दुहितृ + अञ् = दौहित्रः “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद् + अञ् = वैद्ः ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two fold meaning of this sūtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्यं should be thus construed. The word ‘anṛishi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर the affix व्यङ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means :—‘after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix ‘añ’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'ānantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'añ' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अञ्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अण् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अञ् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अण् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अण् of IV. 1. 114 is not debarred by this अञ् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अञ् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अण् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अञ्), for both Gādhi the father of Viśvāmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद् &c. will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद् forms बैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इञ् and not by कश्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because बिद् is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigāṇa of Bāhvādi.

1 बिद्, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्त्र, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किर्दभ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋषिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्च, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्ववतान, 26 इयामाक, 27 इयानक, 28 इयावलि, 29 इयापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किंदास, 32 बह्यस्क, 33 अर्कजूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 मुडाकु, 46 सुपाकु, 47 मुदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पूत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्द, 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक, 55 इयायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ् ॥ Thus परास्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रेण्यः, with double vṛiddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20 : which does not take place in the case of पारशवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादित्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजसि, 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विद्भन्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवद, 20 मनस्, 21 धनेजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण, 25 लेहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंख, 32 लिगु, 33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंक्षु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनायी, 41 सूनु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्थक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 तृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्क्य, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रूगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 खुलुक, 77 मुद्गल, 75 मुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतुकर्ण (जातुकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अश्वमेध, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पुतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिषणज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 इल्म, 97 चकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवहू, 100 इन्द्रहू, 101 एकलू, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहित, 105 सुलामिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुदिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्धु, 111 शुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लेहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष्फ after यञ् in the feminine by IV. i. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyása the son of Parásara is called पाराशर्यः? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाभ्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by ऋष्यञ् (IV. i. 114) i. e. जामदग्न्यः and पाराशर्यः ॥

मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बभ्रोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दाद्बभ्रु शब्दाच्च गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणे कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmana.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." बाभ्रव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाभ्रवः ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. बभ्रु takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिबोधदाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिबोधशब्दाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि+यञ्=काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also वैधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargâdi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargâdi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः=आङ्गिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Sīvâdi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes अञ् and अण्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवीदि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वातंङ्यः and वातंङः any descendant of Vâtaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुभवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgīrasa?" Observe वातण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohītādi rule (V. 1. 18). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Śivādi class, its feminine is वतण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अण् yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अश्वदिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अश्वदिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛtiti of āṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व-न-फञ् = अश्व-न-आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्वमायनः. There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV. 1. 122), वैल्य = विलि (a Rājārshi)-ल-ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word ह्य takes phaṇ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायनः, otherwise शायिः with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥ The word जात takes 'phaṇ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातियः with ढक् ॥ The word आत्रेय takes 'phaṇ' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भरद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

I अश्व 2 अश्वमन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विह 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खण्डार 10 बस्त 11 पिङ्गल 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलोक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 इयाम 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 मीढ 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशंप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य 50 (वैल्य) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहृत 56 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस् 58 नम 59

(मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भरद्वाजे 62 भरद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वह 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 मीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 वीक्ष्य, 77 वह, 78 खेड, 79 नत्त 80 ओजस, 81 नम ॥

भर्गात्रैर्गतं ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गशब्दादपत्ये विशेषे त्रैगतं गोत्रे फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गायणः = त्रैगतः ; otherwise भार्गः (IV. I. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञायन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. I. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debarbs इम् &c, Thus शिव-अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly प्रौष्ठः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class ; being a common noun denoting an artisan. it would have taken the affix इम् by IV. I. 153 ; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. I. 152. Thus तक्षन्-अण् = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-अण्य = तक्षण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrādi class IV, I. 123) and Tikādi (IV. I. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गांगः ; गांगायानिः and गांगेयः ॥ The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjādi class (IV. I. 98) It has thus two forms : वैपाशः and वैपाशायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix इक् (IV. I. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. I. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. I. 113), as त्रैवेणः but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 इण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुम्भ (ककुभा) 10 अन-
भिम्भान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्स्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कहूय 19 कहय
20 रोध 21 कर्पिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 लृणकर्ण 25 क्षरिह्र 26 जलह्र 27 परिल

28 पाषिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हेह्य 31 पार्थिका 32 गोपिका 33 कापिलिका 34 जदिलिका 35 बर्धिका 36 मजीरक 37 38 मज्जिक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्नार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्ववण 47 खण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 भीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पृथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका 62 आर्थ-
श्वेत (अर्थश्वेत) 63 सुपिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जुरकर्ण 67 खवूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 ऋष्टिषणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 दुह्य 75 अयःस्थूल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भल-
न्वन 73 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 द्व्यचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवर्ण च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध, 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिर्नद्याचामदिस्त्वं दम् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनामेवा-
च्छ्रुतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्गः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेभ्यो ऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । ढको ऽपवादः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,
when such words are not Vṛiddham words; and when they
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vṛiddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like
IV. i. 166, but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word
whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (I. i. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the
orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-
मानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'
वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नर्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names*
of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तित' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe चान्द्रभागाया
अपत्यं = चान्द्रभागेयः; so also वासवहोत्रेयः formed by ढक् (IV. i. 120). Why do we say
being 'names of *rivers* or *women*.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैन्तयेयः ॥ Why do we
say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शोभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful
woman.'

ढक् (IV. i. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed
from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरु इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्राति-
पदिकेभ्यो ऽपत्ये ऽण्प्रत्ययो भवती, ऋऽपवादः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इञ् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also श्वाफल्कः, राव्यसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins ढक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by ढक् ॥ Thus आत्रेयः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family ; so also भैमसेन्यः 'son of Bhīmasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pāṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्तः, संख्या, सम्, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृशब्दात्संख्यापूर्वात्संपूर्वाद्भद्रपूर्वाच्चापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारश्चान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mâtṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mâtṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "son of two mothers i.e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमातृ + उ + अ = द्वैमातृ + उ + र् + अ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly षण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

क् of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtri'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrâdi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ढकोपवादः । तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनशब्दोऽप्येव भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyasa'. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गछगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेष्वण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंगा is used and not शुंग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. I. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. I. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pilā.'

ढक् च मण्डूकात् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ढक् = माण्डूकेयः; मण्डूक + अण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डूक + इञ् = माण्डुकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीग्रहणेन टाबादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दा गृह्यन्ते । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुञ्चाकोकिलात्स्मृतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes टप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. I. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparṇī". But ऐडविडः and हारदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इडविड and हरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affixes.

Vārt.:—The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vārt.:—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्व्यचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दत्तेयः 'son of Dattā', गौपेयः "son of Gopī". This debars the अण् of IV. I. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe यामुनः 'son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिजः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अन्, इञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारो द्व्यच इत्यस्यानुकर्षार्थः । इकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्विअन्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्यचः of the last sūtra. Thus मात्रेयः 'the son of Atri'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. I. 95.); so also प्लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्चः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debars इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गंगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शोभेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शालायल, (शालाचल) 6 शालाकाश्रु, 7 लेखाश्रु, (लेखाश्रु), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिश्व, 13 शालुक, 14 अजवस्ति, 15 शक्राधि, 16 विमान्, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 देवतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल (ज्ञातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्डु, 27 विसि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गीदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 शाताहर, 33 पवष्टुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासंघे । 36 गाथा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 सूकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष, 49 सुवक्षस्, 50 सुवामन्, 51 कहु, 52 तुह, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुशारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिन्, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदन्त, 61 शकल, 62 शालाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुवेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मना, 68 अनुदष्टिन्, (अनुदष्टि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलीवर्दिन्, 71 विम, 72 वीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शतावर, 79 शालाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यष्टु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकथु, 86 यमष्टु, 87 कहु, 88 सूकण्ड, 89 गुह, 90 रुह, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥

विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुषीतकात् काश्यपे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दशकुषीतकशब्दश्च काश्यपे ऽपत्यविशेषे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक् comes after the words 'Vikarna' and 'Kushîta', when they mean the descendants of Kâsyapa.

Thus वैकर्ण्यः and कौषीतिक्यः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

भ्रुवो वुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रुवः, वुक्, च (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रुवश्चापत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रू + ढक् = भ्रू + वुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = भ्रुवः + ढक् = भ्रैवियः (VII. 1. 2)

कल्याण्यादीनामिन्ङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इन्ङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमादीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इन्ङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इन्ङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ढक् ।

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyāṇī.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभागन् + ढक् = सौभागिनेयः ॥ Similarly दैर्भागिनेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vṛiddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of भ. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 तुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुवृद्धि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) 7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्षी, 9 उद्येष्टा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इन्ङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थं वचनं प्रत्ययः पूर्वैव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इन्ङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (अवति) from one family (कुल) to another, i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिन् + ढक् = कौलदिनेयः or कौलदेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलदेयः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकाचेति ब्रुक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खि-
यामपत्ये लुग्वन्तव्यः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in form-
ing the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

Vārti:—So also after the masculine word चटक् ॥ Thus चाटकैः 'son of
Chaṭaka'.

Vārti:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-eli-
sion of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the दाप्
being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया दूक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, दूक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये दूक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'दूक्' comes in the sense of a des-
cendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दूक् = गौधेरः ॥ Of the affix 'dhrak', the letter ह् is replaced
by एह् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent
fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एह्र, but the ह् is elided by
VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it
takes the affix 'dhrak' as well. Thus गौधेरः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a
descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of
Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधारः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contains the letter आ
unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends
in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the
very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there
are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix
रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as
जाडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for
the sake of showing respect only.

शुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुद्राभ्यः, वा (दूक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुद्रा अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अर्थधर्मेण तदभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । शुद्राभ्यो वापत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛitti of ढक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word शुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेशः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुश्छण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुश्छण्प्रत्यये छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृष्वसु'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पैतृष्वसुः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईय ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरपत्यप्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पैतृष्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतद्वेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यवुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुरपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. 1. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसुः or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पादो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पादभ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् = कामण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the उ being elided before ढ). So also शैतिशोदयेः and जाम्बयः from शितिबाहु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्ञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः शब्देऽभ्योपत्ये ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ह्यः; हार्ह्यः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढक् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विश्वि, 6 कुट्टि, 7 अजवस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्श्वशुरशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and अक् respectively. Thus राजन्यः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Râjâ.' The word राजनः will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

क्षत्राद्यः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रशब्दादपत्ये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattrâ.'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षात्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तरप् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्त्वः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात्केवलाद्यापत्ये खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakañ.' That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आढ्यकुलीनः, श्रेत्रियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यङ्ढक्ञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्. अन्यतरस्यां. यत्, ढक्ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तदपूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादन्तरस्यां यत् ढकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां युक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. I. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलादञ् खऔ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अञ्, खऔ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. I. 139.

दुष्कुलाड्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलान्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुरछः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यञ्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यञ्च, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छञ्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यन् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दात् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेदमित्रः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. i. 185 and VI. i. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्ठकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती+ठक्=रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also माध्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृकवज्जिचन्, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकमाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 वण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कूदाक्ष, 11 (ककुदाक्ष) 12 चामरमाह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रमभूति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं या स्त्री तदभिधायिनः शब्दादपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति ; चकारादठक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुरसविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy ; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो जाल्मः (formed by ढक् IV. i. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्गी अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेरुपलक्षणार्थोऽयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धाट्ठक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपक्षे विातर्हितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

तृतीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्राट्ठग्बहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागविच्छिक्: 'the son of Bhāgavitti'. So also तार्णबिन्दविक: formed from तृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. I. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. I. 101) as भागविचायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Śubhrādi class IV. I. 123: and forms आकशापेयः, his son will be आकशापेयिकः or आकशापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागविचायनः only.

The operation of this sūtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापेय as given in the kārīkā.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vriddha' in the sūtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sūtra, and a Sauvîra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vriddhī letter in its first syllable? The word Vriddha is employed in the sūtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vriddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sūtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vriddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyāh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvîras"? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागविचायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word ब्रुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sūtras IV. I. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. I. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. I. 150, denotes 'Sauvîra' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. I. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvîra'.

फेइछ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फिज्जन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराट्ठक् कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā ययुब्धश्च सुयामा च वार्ष्ण्यायणिः फिज् स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

endant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix **किञ्** and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द् will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix **किञ्** (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यमुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The कैः of the sūtra refers to **किञ्** and not to **किन्**, for a stem formed by **किन्** will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kârikâ, three **किञ्** stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्द्, सुयामा and वार्ष्यायाणिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyaṇi.

फाण्डाहतिमिमताभ्यां णकिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्डाहति-मिमताभ्यां-णकिञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्डाहतिमिमताभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णकिञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

150. The affixes **ण** and **किञ्** come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phântâhriti and Mimata.

This debars **फक्**. By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word **मिमत्** consisting of less syllables than **फाण्डाहत**, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes **ण** and **किञ्** are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively. Thus **फाण्डाहतः** or **फाण्डाहतायनिः**; **मैमत्** or **मैमतायनिः** ॥

When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have **फाण्डाहतायनः** and **मैमतायनः** (by **फक्** ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word **मिमत्** belongs to Naḍâdi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

151. The affix **ण्य** comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus **कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः** ॥ So also **गार्ग्यः** ॥ The word **कुरु** takes the affix **ण्य** by IV. 1. 172, so that the form **कौरव्यः** is evolved both under the present

sūtra and sūtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the पृष्ठ of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because पृष्ठ of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix क्तिच्. As कौरव्यायणिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix पृष्ठ not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be कैशिन्यः ॥ There will not be puṇvadbhāva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṇvadbhāva, then by भस्यडे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṇvad before a taddhita affix except ढ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + पृष्ठ = केशिन् + पृष्ठ ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केशिन् + पृष्ठ = कैश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ + अण् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ will be governed by पृष्ठ ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वा-
वृक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्)
12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमन्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 दामोष्णीषि,
18 गणकारि, 19 केशोरि, 20 कुट, 21 शालका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक),
25 शुभ्र, 26 अन्न, 27 र्भे, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूषणीय, 31 श्यावनाय, 32
श्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्क,
40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्तु, 44 हर्तु, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी),
47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिवत्स्वरवर्जम्. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्फाण्टक,
51 घातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ सेनान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दात् कारिवचनेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिशब्दः कारुणां तन्तुवायादीनां वाचकः ॥

152. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus कारिभ्यः, हारिभ्यः, लक्षण्यः, तान्तुवाय्यः, कौम्भकार्यः, नापित्यः ॥

उदीचामिञ् ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिणिः, हारिणिः, लक्षणिः, तान्तुवायिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ As to the word लक्षण 'carpenter.' See IV. 1. 112. It will have तार्षणः and तार्षण्यः, but will not take इञ् ॥ The word नापित् being a Vridhdha, non-gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV. 1. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् ॥ १५४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, कैतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वाव्यायनिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya : because it is immediately preceded by the word औरश = उरसा शते = उरशः क्षत्रियः, his son will be aurasa with, अञ् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 will take the affix इञ् and not फिञ् of this Sûtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला (बाल) 5 शिखा, 6 उरस् (उरश), 7 शात्र्य (शात्र्य) 8 सैन्धव, 9 यमुन्द्, 10 रूप्य, 11 ग्राम्य, 12 नील, 13 अमित्र, 14 गौकश्य, 15 कुरु (कर्ह) 16 देवरथ, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 औरस (औरश), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौलिकि, 22 चौपयत्, 23 चैदयत्, 24 शीकयत् (शैकयत्) 25 क्षैतयत्, 26 वाजवत् (वाजवत् K.) 27 चन्द्रमस्, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुपामन्, 32 आरद्ध (आरद्व), 33 वहका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उदत्त (उदन्य) 38 य-

ज्ञ, 39 सुयामन्, 40 कश्य (कश्य), 41 भीत, 42 जाजल, 43 रस, 44 लावक, 45 ध्वजवद्, 46 वसु, 47 बन्धु, 48 आवन्धका (as well as आवन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (फिञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दगुकोसलकर्मारच्छाग वृषाणां शुद् ॥

155. The affix फिञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य," but they mean "the son of कोसल, and कर्मार," because of the following Vârtika

Vârti:—The words दगु, कोसल, कर्मार, छाग and वृष take the augment शुद् before the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus दगुव्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्यायनिः ॥

अणो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकारूपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यासीनां वा फिञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कार्त्रायनिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्त्रायनिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dākshî' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârti:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix फिञ् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (फिञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं यच्छब्दरूपमगोत्रं तस्मादपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vriddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आम्रगुप्तायनिः "son of आम्रगुप्त," ग्रामरक्षायनिः 'son of ग्रामरक्ष' ॥ नापितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आम्रगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable'? Observe यज्ञवत्तिः 'son of यज्ञवत्.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्च (फिन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिन् प्रत्ययो भवति सत्सन्नियोगेन चैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गारेधकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उद्दीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गारेधिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गौधेर (गारेध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चर्मिव-
निर्णोर्नलोपश्च ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्तात्प्रातिपदिकायः फिन्प्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते अन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तरस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥
So also वात्सीपुत्रकायनिः, वात्सीपुत्रायनिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, फिन्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपादपत्ये फिन् प्रत्यया भवति बहुलं प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or आहि-
चुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजवन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as शाक्षः, प्लाक्षिः ॥

मनोजातावज्यतौ पुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातौ, अज्-यतौ, पुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दादम् यत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तन्मात्रियोगेन पुगागमः समुदायेन चेज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सार्गिकः स्मृतः ।

नकारस्य च मूर्धन्यस्तेन सिद्धति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अज् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु+पुक्+अज्=मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु+अण्=मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति अस्पत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादि, स्तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रपभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vanśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गर्गः

अपत्यम् — { गर्गः (son or putra)
गर्ग्यः (Gotra)
गर्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gârga or Gârgi &c

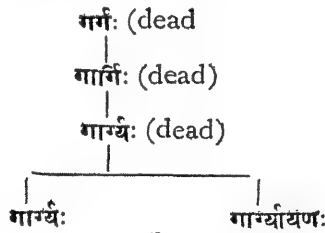
be alive). The force of the word तु, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a वंश्यः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vanśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive ; thus:



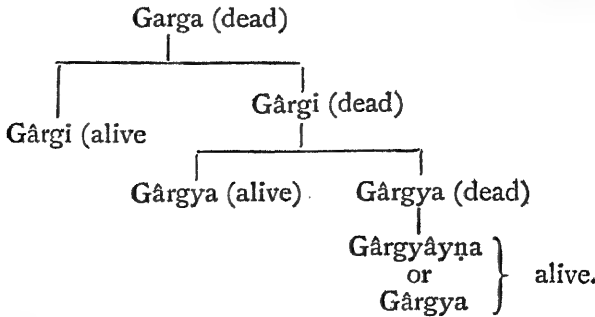
The word वंश्यः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vanśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vanśya is not meant. Thus Gârgyâṇa is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gârgya; similarly Vâtsyâyana, Dâkhsâyana, and Plâkshâyana.

वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्यं-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV. I. 163. This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाः । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gargyâyana or Gârgya". This sūtra is in fact a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः or वात्स्यः, तत्र भवान् दाक्षायणः or दाक्षिः ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, वात्स्यः and गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम् ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञा भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जात्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जात्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥ This is also a Vārtika and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियात् अञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दज्ञत्तस्य राजन्यप्रत्ययवत् ॥

168. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also ऐक्ष्वाकः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drūhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vart:—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चालः comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां, च (अञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sālveya' and 'Gāndhāri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sālveya, or the king of Sālveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gāndhāri

or the king of Gāndhārī?' The vārtika under Sūtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादङ् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसात्-अङ्ग (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो अङ्गो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽङ्गप्रत्ययों भवति ॥

107. The affix अङ्ग comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sūramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus आङ्गः, वाङ्गः; मागधः, कालिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly वौङ्गः, सौङ्गः ॥ The Vārtika 'तस्यराजनि' given above applies to this also, as आङ्गो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाङ्ज्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्, ज्यङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकविकारान्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दायां चापत्ये ज्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् छत्रियाङ् डपण् वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'ज्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajāda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, आम्बष्ठपः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambastha and Sauvira'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avantī and Kuntī'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजाद्यः, which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vārt:—The affix 'ḍyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पाण्ड्यः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'an' and 'aa'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेद्वम्? This is an ârchaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिभ् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-
कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इभ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् कश्चिन्न्यादित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्यश्चापत्ये इभ् प्रत्ययो
भवति ॥

Kārikā उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।

भुलिङ्गाः शारदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इभ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakûta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyâ woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121) formed by ढक्; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarâh, Tilakhalâh, Madrakarâh, Yugandharâh, Bhulingâh and Saradaṇḍâh. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः, मद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamidha, and Âjakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीढिः and आजकान्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽत्रादयस्तद्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sûtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrâja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोल/घर्षम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely the affix अम् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vart:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of Cholâs'. So also केरलः शकः, यवनः ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरुभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'nyañ'. (IV. 1. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शूरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी ; *m.* माद्री, *f.* मद्री ॥ The word अतः of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I. 1. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in अ is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'aṇ (अ)', 'ñyañ (य)', 'nya (य)' and 'in (इ)'. Of these the first four all end in अ ; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. 1. 176 indicates by ज्ञापकः, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of आम्बष्ठ्यः is आम्बष्ठ्या, of सौवीर्यः is सौवीर्या ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्यश्चोत्पन्नस्य लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन स्त्रियां लुक् प्राप्तः प्राति-
बिद्यति ॥

178. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bhargā' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debars the elision of the Tadrāja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus पाँचाली, वैदेही, आंगी, वांगी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Sarāvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, क्राव्यी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, यौधेयी and यौक्रेयी ॥ The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrāja affix अञ् in (V. 3. 117) added to पशु &c. is elided in the feminine : e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पशू, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुष (करुष), 3 कैकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 उरस् (उरश and उरस). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 यौक्रेय, 3 यौधेयी, 4 ज्यावाणय (यावाणय), 5 धौर्तेय (धौर्तेयः धौर्तेय) 6 त्रिगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशनिर, 9 धौर्तेय ॥

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान्नागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्वक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रङ्ज् means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मांजिष्ठम्, कौसुम्यम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायौ गर्भस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्वौ कुक्ष्यस्यादौ" the words काषाय and हारिद्व are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादृक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अन् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीतात् कन् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामञ्ज्वक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lākshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं = लाक्षिकम्, so also रौचनिकम्, शाकलिकम् and कार्दमिकम् ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दमः । Thus शाकलम् and कार्दमम् ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya the words शकल and कर्दम do not occur in the sūtra, but are given in the Vārtika.

Vārti:—The affix अण् comes after नीली: as नील्या रक्तं = नीलं वस्त्रं ॥

Vart:—The affix कन् (I. 3. 8) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं = पीतकम् ॥

Vārti:—The affix अम् comes after हरिद्रा and महाराजन, as हारिद्रम् and माहाराजनम् ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति । योसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्स भवति ॥

3. The affix अण् already ordained 1V. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौषः (VI. 4. 149) e. g. पौषिरात्रिः “the night in which moon is in Pushya”. So also माघी रात्रिः ; पौषमह ‘the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December’. so also माघमह ‘the month Māgha’ &c.

Why do we say नक्षत्रेण ‘connected with the asterism’? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल ‘time’? Observe पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

लुबविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति अविशेषे ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अर्धः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya ; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night; when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां स्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रवणशब्दादश्वत्थशब्दाच्चोत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus स्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः "the night called Sravana; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say स्रवणाः रात्रिः and not स्रवणं रात्रिः. The reason is that स्रवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā'? Observe आरवणी or आश्वत्थी रात्रिः ।

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वात्तृतीयासमर्थान्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराशीर्षा रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसुवीर्यमर्हः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अद्य राधानुराशीर्यम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसुवीर्यम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्यैतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्टं साम चेत्तद्भवति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sâma Veda.

Thus क्रुञ्चन दृष्टं = क्रौञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sâma seen by (or revealed to) Kruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेढक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिशब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्याङ्गवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृष्टे सामनि अण् वाङिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे योन्येन बाधितः पुनरग्निविधीयते स वा ङिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयादीकृक् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोत्रादङ्गवदिष्यते ॥

Kārikā

वृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरङ्गिङ्गा विधीयते ।

तीयादीकृक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्गवदिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of Sāma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृष्टं साम=कालेयं ॥ "The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt.:—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of Sāma-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना वृष्टं साम=आग्नेयम् 'the Sāma-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भव=आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्ने-रागतं "what has come from Agni" =आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sāma-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt.:—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of Sāma-Veda seen. Thus उशनसा वृष्टं साम=औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of ङित् being to elide the ङि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vārt.:—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङित्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ङञ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः=शतभिषः or शतभिषजः ॥

Vārt.:—The affix ईकृक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तर्तीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt.:—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt.:—The affix वुञ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sāma-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापदवकम् 'the Sāma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava'. The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ड्यङ्, ड्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

Kārikā

सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ ङितौ ।

ग्रहणं मातृदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

9. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word Vâmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debar's अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन वृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in 'ḍyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory ड् ?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a डित् affix is added, by VI. 4. 143.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix डित्, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix डित् ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सा अनुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'ḍya' and 'ḍyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udatta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेव्यं ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत्स भवति ॥

10. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also कान्मलः, चर्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमारं इत्येतदण्प्रत्ययान्तं निपात्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीति वा ॥

13. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin' i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्या भारः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थ्याममत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्र means 'vessels': उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus शरावेषूदतः = शराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also मालिकः, कार्परः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणावुदत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चैव्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थाण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मरत्नः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = भ्राष्टः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debarbs अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ईर्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिशब्दात् सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधानि संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the दाधिकं formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the दाधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदश्वितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदश्विच्छब्दात् सप्तमी समर्थात् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदश्वित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्विकम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीरादृढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थत्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षैरेयी यवागूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं पौर्णमासी चेज्जवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini ; but is added by a Vartika ; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year”.

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्=पौषो मासः ‘the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya’. Similarly पौषः पौर्णमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarâtra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुणो माः=पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इयम्=पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means “moon”.

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाढक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दाश्वत्थशब्दाच्च प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमास्युपाधि-
काद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words ‘agrahāyanî’ and ‘asvattha’ ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ‘the month called Agrahāyanika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyana. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञाया मित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ढक् optionally comes after the words ‘Phālgunî’, ‘Sravanâ’, ‘Kârtikî’ and ‘Chaitrî’ being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ढक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवतास्य = इन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly आदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Āditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवतास्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentences ऐन्द्रोमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणो देवतयोति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase सास्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍāśa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारदेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः, कायमकंकपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रशब्दात्सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

अपोनप्तृपान्नप्तृभ्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्तृ, अपाम् नप्तृभ्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apannaptri', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्तृभ्याम् हविः or अपान्नप्तृभ्याम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपान्नपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्तृ when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतरुद्राच्छश्वश्च ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponapttri' and 'Apannapttri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponapttri and Apânnapttri. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयं or अपान्नपत्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apânnapât'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च and छ come after Aponapttri and Apânnapttri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been "the affix च comes after Aponapttri, and छ after Apânnapttri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vart :—The affix छ comes after the words पैगाक्षीपुत्र &c. As, पैगाक्षी-पुत्रीयम्, तार्णबिन्द्वीयम् ॥

Vart :—The word शतरुद्र takes च and छ both: e.g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रियं ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणौ च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्रशब्दाद् घाणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, चकारच्छम्, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and माहेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमशब्दाद् ट्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of ट्यण् causes Vriddhi. The ट causes the affixing of डीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + डीप् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वायुवृत्तुपित्रुषसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋत्तु, पितृ-उषसः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वायवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vâyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उषस्यम् ॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ + यत् = पित् + रीङ् + यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पित्र्य has udâtta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद्ग्रीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-पोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यावापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ Prithivî', 'Sunâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् &c. Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Suna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)'. मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्ने ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दाद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्दीव्यतीयेषु तद्धितार्थेषु सर्वत्राग्निशब्दां ढक्प्रत्ययः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवतास्य = अग्नेयोऽष्टकपालः ॥

Vart:—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatiya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भववत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये। कालाद्दृष्टिप्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेत्यन्ते, तदर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of सास्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास = इक् VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवतास्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्ठञ् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ठञ्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासाद् ॥

35. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârāja' and 'Prosththapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवतास्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

Vart :—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vart :—After the word पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह,
पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवर्तुग्धे सोढदूसमरीसचोवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्ज-छन्दसि ङिच् ॥

36. The words 'pitrivya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules :—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ्ङुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ्ङु and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitri and māttri in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be ताभ्यां पितरि डामहच्, मातरि ङिच् 'and the affix ḍāmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ङ् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vart :—The affixes सोढ, दूस, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवर्तुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अवितूसम् or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vart :—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिलपिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो ग्रामञ्चवक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix षक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अश् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुश् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केदार &c take यश् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is:—काकानां समूहः=काकम् 'a collection of crows' चाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vart.—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following is some of such words:—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण्=गर्भिण् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ढ, भस्याढे तद्धिते)=गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः=यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षेत्र, 4 करीष, 5 अङ्गार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पशति, 10 पद्धति, 11 अथर्वन, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 रक्षिणा, 13 भूत, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र, also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्टोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुश् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र,

उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुश् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुश् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औक्षकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औरभ्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मानुष्यकम्, आजकम् ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vart:—Also after the word वृद्ध; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदाराद्यञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारात्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदाराशब्दाद् यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यञ्प्रत्ययः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ठक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः=कैदार्यम् or कैदारकम् ॥

Vart:—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिनशब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैदारिकम्. We read the anuvṛitti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे ण्वाहुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पश्चां णस्वन्त्ययः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वातातूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vart:—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठयः ॥

Vart:—The affix ख is added to ब्रह्मन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. ब्रह्मिनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आहुः by अञ् see IV. 2. 45.

Vart:—The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final उ of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vart:—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यःतल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गजाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

43, The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grāma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahāya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vārt:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः शब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kārikā अञ्सिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽर्थः क्षुद्रकमालवात् ।

गोत्राद्वुञ् न च तक्षेत्रं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥

ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः ।

सेनायां नियमार्थं च यथा बाध्यत चाञ् बुञ् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाञ् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word क्षुद्रकमालव is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words क्षुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrāja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛiddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudatta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ? It is to exclude the बुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding बुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take बुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word क्षुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that वुञ् affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus औपगव and कापटव are anudāttādi words because formed by अण् (III. 1. 2), and require therefore अञ् by IV. 2. 44, but वुञ् supersedes it, and we have औपगवकम् and कापटवकम् ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vārtika under I. 1. 72. As वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम् ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapāṭha is क्षुद्रकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion सेना &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As क्षौद्रकमालवी सेना, otherwise क्षौद्रकमालवकम् ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sūtra of the Grammarian Āpiśālī also धेनुरनञि ढकमुत्पादयति 'the affix ढक् comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle नञ्', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडबा, 3 क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vārttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 भिक्षुक, 5 शुक्, 6 डलूक, 7 श्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 शुगवरञ्, (वरञ्चा v. 1.; शुग, वरञ्चा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बन्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्मात्राययोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishṭi* under that Sūtra:—चरणद्धर्मात्राययोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिक्यम् and आथर्वणम् ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनञ इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अण् and अञ् ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम् ॥ The affix ढक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50) or क् (VII. 3. 50). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाङ्कुलिकम् ॥

Vārt.—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नञ् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अश्वाभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केश अश्व इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽन्यतरस्यां तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अश्वानां समूहः = आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63) अश्वीयम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः
वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाढल (पाढलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मट (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यचश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यचः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यम् इनि च कट्यच् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् निषेधे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धच् प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकट्या ।

Vārt.—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥

Vart.—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमल-खण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोच्, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vart.—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart.—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिः अनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थं विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛtti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛtti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also औष्ट्रः &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 भानूत*, 3 बाध्न्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (देवयातवः देवयान.), 6 अत्रीड, 7 वरन्ना*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बैल्वन. 15 शैलूष, 16 उवुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 भार्जुनायन, 20 संप्रिय, 21 राक्षि, 22 ऊर्णनाभ. 23 आप्रीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वात्रक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, ऐषु-कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य ऐषुकार्यादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यं विधल् भक्तल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देश इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukàri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैपेयविधः &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तः, सारस्यायनभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत*, 4 चैटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणय, 6 वाणिजक, 7 वालिकाड्य (वाणिकाड्य; वालिज, वालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत (सौकयत.), 9 वैकयत. 10 वैपेय.

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 व्यासायण, 5 वषासायण (वषायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमित्रि, 10 दासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्रायण), 12 दाक्षायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 ताक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 शायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 तापिण्ड. 27 शौण्ड, 28 सायण्ड, 29 अलायत, 30 औलायायत.

सोस्यादिरितिच्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं छन्दश्चेत्तदादिर्भवति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेनपुंसके स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगाथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगाथनात् पकर्षगानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vart:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishtubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च शब्देभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथा- विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजन, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrâ". So also सौभाग्रः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrâ". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimâlâ warriors' So also स्यान्दनाश्वः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य शानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थवस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यत्तादिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्वति, यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्ता भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction;

denoting the name of a weapon ; ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्डः महरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दण्डा "a game played with sticks". So मौष्ट "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon' ? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायां 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः महरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति जः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-जः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे जः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix ज, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ज is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus दण्डपातोऽस्यां तियौवर्तते = दण्डपाता तियिः; मौष्टपाता तियिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थे योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैरुक्तः, नैमित्तः 'who knows the causes'. भौहूर्तः, भौत्पातः ॥

The word *तद्* is repeated in this *sūtra*, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

ऋतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताद्ठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पेंदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्थादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषवाचिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ।
अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तात्कल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुसूर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्परोत्तरपदान् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतपथेऽपि च पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix *ठक्* comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sūtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, बौक्यिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सामहसूत्रिकः ॥

Ishti :—If a word ending in 'sūtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus : काल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sūtra'.

Vart :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविकः, सार्वविकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vart :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अङ्गविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्या, क्षत्रविद्या, धर्मविद्या, संसर्गविद्या, त्रिविद्या ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vart :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रियङ्गविकः, वासववर्त्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, सवार्त्तिकः, ससंग्रहः, द्विवेदः पञ्चव्याकरणः ॥

Vart :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनसू, लक्ष्य, and लक्षण; As अनसूनामग्रन्थ स्तमधीते = आनुसूकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix इकम् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix चिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and शाष्टिपथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. 1. 41), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शातपथः and शाष्टिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 द्वि-
पदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यत्न, 13 धर्म, 14 च-

चा, 15 क्रमेत्तर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद।क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात also संघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वैत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वैत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmana'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmana book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष्य, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि ठनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठक् in the sense of मनुष्य; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यश्चकप्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वैत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c.'

This debars अण् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अथर्वन् 12 मीष्म,

प्रोक्तल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादभ्येत्येवविबोदत्पन्नस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also अपिशलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning whostudies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, डीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by दाप्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phit̐ Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधादुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashtaka'. So also दशका वैयाकरणदीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

Vart̐:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः; so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विष-याणि-(प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तमहणमुत्पत्तेः । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अभ्येतु or वेदितु ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अभ्येतु or

वेदित् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठा meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ-णिनि = कठ-णि-० (IV. 3. 107); कठ-णि-अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठा: "those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are: मौढा: (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. पैप्पलादः, आर्चाभिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalāda, Richāva, or Vājasaneyana". Similarly with words denoting a Brāhmaṇa-Text. Thus: ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाक्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिनः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brāhmaṇas announced by Tāṇḍya, Bhallava, Śātyāyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājnyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra: as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नदाः, कर्मन्दिनः, कृशदिवनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैङ्गीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नास्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्भवति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशश्चेत्स तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेतन्नाम्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चातुरधिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बराः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बालवजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debarb the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासर्थान्निर्वृत्तमित्यास्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī, completed by Kuśāmba". Similarly साहस्री परिखा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य विवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैवः "the country of

the Sîbis", औदिष्टः ॥ ऋजुनावान्निवासौ देशः=आर्जुनावः ॥ The word ऋजुनावां=ऋज्वा-
नै त्र्येषां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाददूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भव=वैदिशम् is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरञ् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्यथाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्तादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तदस्मिन्नस्तीत्येवमादि-
ष्वर्थेषु । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अण् (IV. i. 83). Thus आरड्वम् from अरड् 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काक्षतवम् from कक्षतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्क-
टेल ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugar-
canes near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अञ् governs the six sūtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुच्-अङ्गात्-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुज अङ्गं यस्यासौ बहुजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकारम्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । अणो-
पवादः ॥

72. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix मनुप्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ् ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus ऐषुकावतस्, सैध्रकावतस् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe आहिमतस् यावमतस् ॥ Here though the word अहिमत् ends in the affix मनुप्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मनुप्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावतस् by अण् ॥

बह्वचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वचः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः कूपेष्वभिधेयेषु ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्दूतः कूपः = दीर्घवरत्रः "a well completed by Dīrghavaratra". So also कापिलवरत्रः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपाचोष्वभिधेयस्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâśâ.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus दत्तः "a well completed by Datta", गौतमः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply as दत्तः and गौतमः, the difference being in the accent. This sūtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमादयो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः । अणोपवादः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words sankala &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सौंकलः, पौष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम*, 4 उडुप, 5 उड्वप (उड्वप), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुदक्ष, 10 सुदच, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत*, 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल*, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत*, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतक (पूतिका; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 51 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 बहुल, 32 स-
द्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 मल्ल, 37 मल्ल*, 38 माल. also 39 शर्मन्,
40 गृह, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राधु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे देशे वाच्ये साल्वे प्राचि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशेतन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्रा "the city founded by Dattâmitra" (in Sauvîra). So also वैधूमाम्री (in Sâlva) काकन्शी, माकन्शी, माणिचरी, जारुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV.2.71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वरुण, 3 भण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन (सेचालिन), 6 कर्पूरिन,
7 शिखण्डिन, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क,
13 ककन्धुमती (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 अहिस्वथ 16 वृत् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after राणे in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रौणः, आजक्रौणः or सैहिकरौणः

कोपधाञ्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाञ् प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

79. The affix **अण्** comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having **क्** for its penultimate.

This debars **अम्** which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus
कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, वैराङ्कवम् ॥

बुञ्छणकठजिलसेनिरढञ्ण्ययफक्फिअञ्ज्यककठको ऽरीहणकृशाश्वदृश्यकुमुद-
काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥
पदानि ॥ बुञ्-छण्-क-ठञ्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिञ्-इञ्-ज्य-कक्-ठकोः; अ-
रीहण-कृशाश्व-ऋश्य-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत
ङ्गम-प्रागदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुञ्जादयः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमात्रे
संबध्यते । तत्र यथासख्यं सप्तदशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चातुरर्थिकाः ॥ यथाः—
(1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाश्वादिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋद्यादिभ्यः कः
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्छञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणा
दिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
(9) सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्र-
त्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14)
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहा-
दिभ्यः कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्छक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the follow-
ing 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respec-
tively :—

1. बुञ् (=अक्) after अरीहणं &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाश्व &c. 3. क after
ऋश्य &c. 4. ठञ् (=इक्) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काश &c. 6. स (or श) after तृण
&c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ढञ् (=एय) after सखि &c.
10. ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (=आयर्न) after पक्ष &c.
13. फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (=इ) after सुतङ्गम् &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन्
&c. 16. कक् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. छक् (इक्) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words.
आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part
of the sūtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the
seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by
I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, द्वैषणकम् (2) काशाश्वीयः, आरहीयः, (3) ऋद्यकैः, न्यघोषकैः, (4)
कुमुदिकैः, शक्कारिकैः, (5) वाशिलम्, काशिलम्, (6) तृणसैः, नडसैः, (7) प्रेक्षिनः, हलकिनः, (8)
अश्मरैः, (9) सौख्यम्, सौखिदत्तेयम्, 10 सांकाश्यम्, काम्पिल्यम्, (11) बल्यैः, कल्यैः, (12) पा-
क्षायणैः, तौषाधजैः, (13) कौर्णायनिः, वीसिधायनिः, (14) सौतङ्गनिः, मैनिचिन्तिः, (15) प्रागय
(16) वाराहकम्, पालाशकम्, and (17) lastly कौमुदिकम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरिहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14), and वराहादि (3), Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 दुघण, 3 दुहण*, 4 भगल, 5 डलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्ट्रायण, 9 औ-
ष्ट्रायण*, 10 त्रैगर्तायन, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 गौमतायन
(गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन*, 18 सौमायन*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्द्रायण*,
21 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विपथ, 25 विपाश, 26 उहण्ड, 27 उदञ्चन,
28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृष्ण (काश), 31 जाम्बवत (वन्त), 32 शिशपा,
33 रैवत (रेवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर,
40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 वलतु*, 42 भलन्दन*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 यज्ञवल्त*.
46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेडमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश*, 7 रोमश*, 8 रोमक,
9 लोमक*, 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्चल*, 13 सुर्वचल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17
सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुरग*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता),
24 अवनत, 25 विकुन्धास (v. l. कुविन्धास; विकुधास), 26 पराशर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्*, 29 मौड्र-
ल्य, 30 शूकर* (मौड्रल्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस्

1 ऋदय, 2 न्यमोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. l.
निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत*, 15 वेडमन्*,
16 उत्तराश्वमन्, 17 अश्वमन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23
अरडु*, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 हण्ड*, 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इक्कट (इत्कट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7
गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व*, 16
अश्वत्थ, 17 बल्बज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशमाम. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश,
24 त्रिक, 25 कत.

1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीशूक्षा (पीशूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड,
9 वन, 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छूल*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस), 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17
बर्बर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 ग्रह (गृह) 20 कपित्थ*, 21 जलु, 22 शीपालः 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वरण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 फल*, 11
भर्जुन*, 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 ब्रुस. 17 जन, 18 लव.

1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका, 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका 6 न्यमोध, 7 इक्कट (इर्कट).
8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 बुक*, 13 पुक*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परि-
वाप*, 17 यवाष* (d. i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका*, 19 गर्त*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य*. 22 बुधका,
23 सुक्रटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक.

1 अश्वमन्, 2 युथ (also युष), 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नह, 6 दर्भ, 7 वृन्द, 8 गुद*,
9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पाम (पांम!), 14 कन्द*, 15 कान्द*, 17 राह*, 18
गुड*, 19 कूण्डल*, 20 पीन*. 21 गह*.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल
7 प.ल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर,
13 वासव*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),
20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 काम्पिल, 3 कम्भीर (कम्भर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8
सुपान्थिन् (rightly सुपाथिन्), पन्थ (सन्ध्या) च, 9 शूष (शूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13
पलित*, 14 अनुनाश*, 15 अम्भन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश*, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 शीषे*, 21 विरत
(चिरन्त; बिरत!), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्थ*, 26 नल*, 27 रोमन*, 28 लोमन्*,
29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिपि, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*,
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 नल*, 4 दल*, 5 वट*, 6 लकुल*, 7 उरल*, 8 पुल*, 9 मूल*,
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष*, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड*, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बालिका (कम्बालिक), 7 बलिक*, 8 चित्र
9 अस्ति*, 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिश्वन् (स्वन्), 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्*, 21 मकर*,
22 लोमक, 23 शीर्षे*, 24 निवात*, 25 पाक*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अंकुश*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक
(हंसका), 30 हंसक*, 31 कुत्स*, 32 बिल*, 33 खिल*, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला*, 37 सकर्णक
(सकण्डक), 38 अदमन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 द्रुपद (डुपद), 6 आनडुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य,
8 स्फिज, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डी-
वत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव*, 16 जैव*, 17 आनक*, 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुतंगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित्*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन*,
7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विम, 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 श्वन्, 14 अजिर,
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विमह*,

1 प्रगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 महदिन्, (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव),
6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार*, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निबद्ध, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विदग्ध,
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न*, 12 बाहु, 13 खादिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दशमाम, 5 अम्बस्थ, 6 शालमलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि-
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 वासकुन्ध*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्ध ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नामनीति यश्चातुरर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुप् भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I, 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means: (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः = पंचालः । So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also शृङ्गी, शाल्मल्यः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकबदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 शृङ्गी, 3 शाल्मलि, 4 शुण्डी*, 5 शयाण्डी*, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोह (पूर्वो गोहो, पूर्वेण गोहो, अपरेण गोहो), 9 आलिङ्गभायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी; जालपद) 11 जम्बू*, 12 पुष्कर*, 13 चम्पा*, 14 पम्पा*, 15 वल्गु*, 16 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा) 21 गोमती*, 22 बलभी*, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्तुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सशण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वैणिक, Is an आक्रान्तिगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादुत्पन्नस्य चातुर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुब् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes उच् and कक् taught therein: for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV i. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादृक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतश्चातुरार्थकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्करम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by कक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करियम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मतुप्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उदुम्बरवती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, ह्रुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैरवथी, which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मतुप्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (कीरीर) 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्याण (शर्याणा) 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दाली, 13 शर, 14 इष्टका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्नी, 18 शकल, 19 शालाका, 20 आमिषी (आमिषी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (मुष्टि इष्टि) 24 रुष्य 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खडा) 27 वट, 28 वेद (वेदा) 29 रण्य, 30 क्रक्ष, 38 मरुव, 32 शर्वाघाट.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो इमनुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो इमनुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थकः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ महिषाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमनुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुदान्, नङ्गान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाङ् डलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात-डलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादशाब्दाभ्यां डलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

88. The affix डलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नङ्गलम् and शाङ्गलम् ॥

शिखाया वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखाशब्दाद्वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikkhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मनुष्य V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीयम्, शर्फरीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संफल, 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अश्रमन्, 7 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक*, 12 वैवण°, 13 पिचुक, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुर (शकाक्षुर st. काश, क्षुर) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्या, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (क्षान्त) 24 खरि, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 द्यावनाय, 27 नैवाकवै (नैव, वक्) 28 तृण°, 29 वृक्ष 30 शाक*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 फल*, 36 संपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक*, 41 हडा, 42 धरण्य, 43 निशान्त°, 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचायक°, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार°, 49 विशाल, 50 वेत्र, 51 अरीहण°, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर 54 मन्त्रणार्ह°, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मऊच, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चातुरर्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ कूञ्चाया ह्रस्वत्वं । तक्षन्नलोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्; छक्षकीयम्, &c.

The words कृञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कृञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. कृञ्चकीयम्, तक्षकीयम् ॥

1 नड, 2 छक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेत्र, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 कृञ्चा (कृञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोऽयम् । यानित ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽर्थे ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification", the last, be called शेष or the remainder"—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रावण, औपनिषदः 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, हर्षदः from हृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चातुर्दशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औतूखलः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley; आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus सौघ्नः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घ-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र अवारपार इत्येनाम्नां यथारोख्यं पञ्चावित्येनां प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विगृहीतादपीष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताच्च ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

Vart.—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank', पारावारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is घ, and the last where of are ख्यु (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's Laghu Kaumudi).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दाद्य खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्त्रचादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्त्रि-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्त्रि इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपश्च ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (एयक) comes after the words कत्त्रि &c.

As कत्त्रियकः, औम्मेयकः &c.

1 कत्त्रि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मवती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुड्याया (कुल्याया) यलोपश्च, 14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-ग्रीवाभ्यः, श्व-आसी-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं श्वन् असि अलंकार इत्येतेषु जातादिष्वर्थेषु ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. 'The same affix ढक् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25. &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), भैवेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and भैवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (पयं) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नदियं, 'pertaining to a river', माहेयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 भावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खासिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाटा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 शर्वा*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडबाया इषे. 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्व-नगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरेयम्, वानेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinâ', 'paschât' and 'purâs' the affix 'tyak' (त्यं) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पाश्चात्यः 'occidental', पौरस्त्यः 'oriental'.

कापिध्याः षफक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिध्याः, षफक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दान् षफक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

शार्शिकम् ॥ बाह्वृत्तिर्षिर्षिभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kâpishâ', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by डीप् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

Vart.—So also after बाहलि, उर्वि and पर्वि as, बाहलयनी, और्वयनी, पर्वयनी ॥ This debars वृम् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येण च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च (ष्फक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्कुशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्ष्फक्च शैषिको ऽमनुष्येभिधेये ॥

100. After the word रङ्कु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As रङ्गवो गौः or रङ्गवायणो गौः but रङ्गवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्कु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysa is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as रङ्गवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्कु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृम् of IV. 2. 125, and वृम् is debarred by उम् of IV. 2. 119, and उम् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदच् प्रत्यच् इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ।

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्यायाष्ठक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्यायाः ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥



102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix **ठक्** in the remaining senses,

As कान्थिकः ॥

वर्णो बुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-बुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाया इत्येव । वर्णो या कन्था तस्या बुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix **बुक्** when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varnu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varnu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्थिकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

Kārikā अनेहक्वतसिन्नेभ्यस्त्यङ्गविधिर्योऽव्ययात्सृजः ।

निनिर्भ्यां ध्रुवगत्योश्च प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यङ्गेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निसो गते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविसदछन्दसि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याणोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दूरदित्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरादहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix **त्यप्** is restricted to the following Indeclinables:—अमा 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and च (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vṛiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, भारतीय ॥

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, नित्यम् = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्टयः "Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas: As, आविष्ठो वर्द्धते ॥

Vārt:—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरैत्यः पथिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आह्स् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

ऐषमोहः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-
रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

105. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तन् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'svas' takes the augment तुद् also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्औ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-औ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यथासंख्यमञ् अ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

106. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the अ comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कीर्कतीरम्, पाल्लतीरम्, वार्कैरूप्यम्, शैवैरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in अ take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-अः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदाद्यातिपदिकादसंज्ञा विषयाद् अः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

107. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अ is added, forming the feminine in आ ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला+अ = पूर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly दक्षिणशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वेषु-कामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वेषुकामशमैः (VII. 3. 14), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पुव+इषु-कामशमी; "Ishukāmshamī-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशर्मा by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरैषुकामशर्मैः "who is in Ishukāmashamî-in-the-West".

The word 'वृद्धि' is used in the sūtra for the sake of percision, for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्ववत्संज्ञायां, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदान्मद्रेषुवावञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्र, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमद्रः १. द्वी; आपरमद्रः १. द्वी ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्र ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चबहुचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् बहुचोऽन्तोदात्ताद् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debarbs अण् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, मौण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माथुरम् formed by अण्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Observe धूर्जी-धूर्जम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्करोधानम् ॥ Here धा is udātta by VI. 1. 194, taking लिट् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदान् पलद्यादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकारणं प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debarbs the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus माद्रीप्रस्थः, माहकीप्रस्थः, पालदः, पारिषदः, नैलिनकः, चैयातकः ॥

In the class Paladyâdi, those words which denote villages of बाहीक, will not take टञ् or णिङ् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौष्टी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladī class, and consequently it does not take the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word बाहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladī class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 बाहीक, 5 कालकीट (मलकीट) 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट) 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौष्टी, 12 नैतकी (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 शूरसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पट्टचर, 17 उदपान (उद्यानि) 18 यकृलोम, 19 सकृलोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्ह्येवं संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे यः प्रत्ययो विहितस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debarbs the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus कण्वाः "the pupils of Kaṇva". गौकक्षाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word कण्व, when it means कण्व देवतास्य, forms its secondary derivative कण्वीयम् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargâdi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकक्ष are कौण्व्य and गौकौक्ष्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कौण्व्य+अण्=कौण्वः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इञश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इञ्, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् विहितस्तदन्ताभ्यातिपादिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दक्षि, from which दक्षाः "the pupils of Dākshī"; दक्षाः, माहकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गनीयम् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्व्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्व्यचः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु(अण्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकात्प्राच्यभरतगोत्रादिमन्तावण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाराः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दक्षाः from दक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vridhdha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. The Vṛiddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from मार्ग्य we

have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीयः, शालीयः, मालीयः ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in वीर and रूप्य (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क (110). Thus.

इह—इह्यः; but आरात्—आरातीयः करवतीर—कारवतीरम्; but वायसतीर—वायसतीरीयः चणारूप्य—चाणारूप्यम्; but माणिरूप्य—माणिरूप्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर—शैवपुरम्; but वाड-वर्क—वाडवकर्षीयः, निलीनक—नैलीनकः; but औलूक—औलूकीयः ॥

भवतष्ठकृच्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतः, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadādi class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवतीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यष्टञ्जिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठञ्-जिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यष्टञ् जिठ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपवाद्विपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठञ् and जिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and जिठ्, the ङ् is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take टाप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, बैदिका or बैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thas देवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the Māhābhāshya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vṛiddha, and it gives example of देवदत्तीयाः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्तः is a Vṛiddha word and will take these affixes.

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣhya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix ठञ् and जिद् ॥

Vārt :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °का, तत्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (वैरी) 3 सांयाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुला*, 8 हस्तिकर्ष, 9 कुनामन्, (कुशामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गौधाशन) 13 भारङ्गी*, 14 अरिश्म, 15 अरिच*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशग्राम (दशग्राम) 18 शौवावतान (सौधावतान) 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छागमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपसादिपूर्वपदात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (ठञ् जिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्च जिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and जिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of Vāhika.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (ठञ्-जिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा ठञ् जिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and जिद् come optionally in the remaining senses, after Vṛiddha words denoting Vāhika villages situated in Usīnara.

Thus आह्वजालिकी, लिका and लीया; so also सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका and सौदर्शनीया ॥

ओर्देशे ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठञ् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययौ भवति शैषिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ्, comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षुकः, शाबरजम्बुकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a country'? Observe पाटवाः 'the pupils of पटु' formed by ञण् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of ढञ् and मिङ् both were current ; hence the repetition of ढञ् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of ढञ् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of मिङ् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(ठञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्रादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

120. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix ढञ् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मल्लवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

121. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्तादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् वृद्धाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

122. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV, 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलुवहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope,

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्रादेशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

123. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ Thus पाटलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, माकन्दी—माकन्दकः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाञ् 'of the East-folk'? Observe सत्तामित्रीयः formed by छ. The त् in ईत् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतदवध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्-अवध्योः च-(वुञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाजनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकान् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

124. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आभिसारकः and आदर्शकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औपुष्टकः and द्यामायनकः from औपुष्ट and द्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदवधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 to words like विगर्त which is an arid desert: as वैगर्तकः ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विषयात्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् वृद्धाच्च जनपदात् तदवधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकान् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

125. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिङ्गकः ॥ Similarly अजमीढाः and अजक्रन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीढकः and आजक्रन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus दर्वकः and जाम्बकः from दारवाः and

जाम्बाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंजराः—कालंजरकः, वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः ॥

The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वार्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vṛiddha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तत्ककौण्डिन्यायः ; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धात् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये इधिरानः, इह तु बहुवचनविषयविशेषेऽवृद्धाद् बुम्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये तत्करणं, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृद्धाद् बुम्भिर्भाते आरभ्यमाणोऽवृद्धाद् बुम् वृद्धाद् बुम्भो-वाधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्दन समुचीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगतोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-अग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त-उत्तरप-दात्-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकायाद् वृद्धादवृद्धाद्यबुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As शरकच्छकः, पैपलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्रकः, वैभुजाग्रकः, ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाकगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. जैमकः, खाण्डकः &c. The word पश्येय occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyās". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रिकौ मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 खड्ग (खड्ग and खण्ड) 3 बांशादन, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाद्) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अदृस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्र स्थली, 12 हाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विवैह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सात्रासाह, 17 शष्प, 18 (शिष्य) 19 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध; मित्र, बल) 20 भक्षाली*, 21 मद्रुकूल, 22 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 22 ब्राह्मव, 23 ब्रमाहाव, 24 संस्फीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ज्य, 27 गर्त (वर्चगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 भाराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयात तीर्थ) 37 कूलात्सौवीरैषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 शक्षिणापय, 46 साकेत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुञ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शौषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पक्ष्मालिपूसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौराहि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेद् लिखितं चित्रं मनोनेत्रविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुञ् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागराः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brāhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यशब्दाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शौषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्य हस्तिप्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ण. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अध्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vart :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as आरण्याः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवैः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरैः ॥ These words denote जनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मस्य हसितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोपधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात् प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आर्षिकः "born in ऋषिकाः." So also माहिषिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, and would have otherwise taken ङ् by IV. 2. 119. Thus ऐश्वराकः "born in ईश्वराकु" ॥ The word ऐश्वर्ये is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्योऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debars बुञ्ज् &c. Thus काच्छः, सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c. The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes बुञ्ज् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलुतर (कुलून) 16 रङ्कु ॥

मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्बुञ्ज् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्थयोः बुञ्ज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो बुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix बुञ्ज् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. काच्छिका चूडा ॥ Similarly सैन्धवको मनुष्यः, सैन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्, सैन्धविका चूडा ॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'. सैन्धवो वार्णवः ॥

अपदातौ साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातौ-साल्वात्-(बुञ्ज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपशतावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे साल्वशब्दाद् बुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix बुञ्ज् comes after the word साल्व् in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व् which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken बुञ्ज् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं &c. But साल्वः पशति ब्रजति 'the Sálva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(बुञ्ज्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वो च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वशब्दाद् बुञ्ज् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

136. The affix बुञ्ज् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व्, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus साल्वको गौः "the cows born in Salva". साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Sâlva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शौषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word देशे is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes टम् and मिद् of sūtra 117 ante. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, शृगालगर्तीयम्, इवाविद्गर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद् is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada.

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्चः प्रत्ययो भवति शौषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गह्नीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यमं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम् when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रय और्वीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छ ण् comes after the words केषु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वैणकीयम्, वैवकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 गह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्यमध्यमं चाण् चरणे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधम शाख 13 उत्तमशाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इषुम, 21 इषुनीक (इषुनी) 22 अवस्यन्दन (अवस्यन्ती and अवस्कन्द) 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खाडायन (शाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 काटे-रणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि) 26 लावेरणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 शैशिरि, 29 आसुत्*, 30 देवशर्मि (देवशर्मन्) 31 औति, 32 आहिंसि, 33 आमित्रि, 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि (वैजि), 36 आश्वि, 37 आ-नृशशि, 38 शौद्रि, 39 आमिशर्मि, (अग्रिशर्मन्) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षेमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आश्वत्थि, 45 औद्ग्रामानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 दन्ताग्र*, 49 हंस*, 50 तत्त्वम्*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोलोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादेशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटपोषीयम्, कटपट्टलीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क्व च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क्व-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारश्चान्तदेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क्व is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution; for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-खोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ङक इक इत्येवमन्तात् खकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vridhdha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate,

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण् of Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—मारोहणीयम्, द्रौघणीयम् ॥ इक—आश्वपथिकीयम्, शात्मिकीयम् ॥ खोप धातुः—कौटिलिखीयम्, आयुमुखीयम् ॥

Vart:-- The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in रुक् ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाद्युत्तरपदादेशवाचिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as ठम् and जिङ् of 117 ante Thus दाक्षिकन्धीयम्, माहिकिकन्धीयम्, दाक्षिकपल्लीयम्, माहिकिकपल्लीयम्, दाक्षिनगरीयम्, माहिकिनगरीयम्, दाक्षिग्रामीयम्, माहिकिग्रामीयम्, दाक्षिहृदीयम्, माहिकिहृदीयम् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा ऽमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाऽमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजेशवाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD,

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-
खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः चकाराच्छञ्च ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛddha, as they belong to Tyadādī class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-अण् = युष्माक् + अण् (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माक्; युष्मद्-छ = युष्मद्-ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-खञ् = युष्माक्-ईन (IV. 3. 2.) = यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीयः, and आस्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक्-आ-
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित साक्षाद्विहितः खञ् निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टः । तस्मिन्नाणि अणि च युष्मदस्म-
दोर्यथासंख्यं युष्माक् अस्माक् इत्येतावदशौ भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक् and अस्माक् are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) तस्मिन् खात्रि शुष्मदस्मदोऽशुष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (5) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. e. (1) when खञ् is added, शुष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of शुष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as शुष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तचकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तचक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो यथासंख्यं तस्मिन्खात्रि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तचक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will त्वदीयः, मदीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्धम् 'belonging to half.'

Vart:—When it has a prior term the affix इञ् is used. As बाल्यार्द्धिकम्, (बल्यर्थवस्तु = बाल्यं) ॥ गौतमाद्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाच्चाधायत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवरार्द्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra

would have been परावराधमोत्तमेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always ठञ् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix ठञ् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपदाद् ठञ् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्ध preceded by any word would have taken ठञ्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदादठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदार्धान्तात्यातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धम् पौर्वार्धिकम्, दक्षिणार्धम् or दक्षिणार्द्धिकम् ॥

The word पद is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् ठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes ठञ् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and दग्ध जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अञ्-ठञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकादिक्पूर्वपदादन्तादञ् ठञौ प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकौ यतांपवादौ ॥

7. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खल्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः or पौर्वार्धिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दक्षिणार्धाः or दक्षिणार्धिकाः ॥ The word पौर्वार्द्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्धेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवोभसोर्लोपश्च ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vārt:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vārt:—So also after the words अवस् and अधस्, the final स् being elided. As अवमस्, अधमस् ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यशब्दात्सांप्रतिके जातौ प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घं नातिदुर्लभं मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्ये वैयाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhādi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अण्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken नुञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वैपकम् or द्वैपम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालादठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अण् ॥ The affix छ् which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As काष्ठम्पुष्पिकं, त्रैहिलालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

आद्धे शरद्ः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्धे-शरद्ः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं आद्धे 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', and 'pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 *ante*, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुडागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-ठञ् = शौवस्-तु-न-इक (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्वः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्युतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः,

अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses;

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vriddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) ग्रेष्मम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as सांवत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष् ॥

This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The इक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि ठञ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाच्च छन्दासि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varsha' takes the affix ठञ् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृत्तु ॥ The word ऋतु here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दासि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वैसान्तिकावृत् ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहद्वच सहस्यद्वच हेमन्तिकावृत् ॥ The making of two separate Sûtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निर्योगेन चास्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्त् वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्मुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sûtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sûtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमन्तम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेव्ययेभ्यश्च्युत्युलौ तुद् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-च्यु-त्युलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्टुप् दुर्भलौस्तस्तयोस्तुद् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरुत्परारिभ्यस्तो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रगस्य छन्दसि गलोपश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अमपश्चाद्धिमच् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes च्यु and त्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-+च्यु = सायं-+तुद्-+च्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in म् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root स by adding the affix घञ् ॥ It always ends in स् when these affixes are added, The word चिरं always ends in स् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are शेषातनम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vart :—The affix ङ comes after the words चिर, परस्, and परारि ॥ As चिरङ्गम्, परङ्गम्, and परारिङ्गम् ॥

Vart :—The ग of प्रग in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ङ, as, प्रङ्गम् ॥

Vart :—The affix ङिमश्च comes after अय, आदि and प्रश्नाद्; as, अयिमम्, आयिमम् and पश्चिमम् ॥

Vart :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमम् ॥

The difference between त्नु and त्नुल is in accent, Thus सायन्तेन and सायन्तेन, चिरन्तेन and चिरन्तेन, प्राह्णेतेन and प्राह्णेतेन, प्रगेतेन, प्रगेतेन, दिवातेन and दिवातेन, शेषातेन and शेषातेन ॥

**विभाषापूर्वाङ्गापराङ्गाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाङ्ग-अपराङ्गाभ्याम्-
(दुच-दुचलौ-तुद-च) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाङ्गापराङ्गशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा दुचदुचलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, तुद च तयोरागमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाङ्ग and अपराङ्ग, there are the affixes द्यु and द्युल and their augment is तुद ॥

In the alternative उच् of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाङ्गेतेनम्, अपराङ्गेतेनम् with त्नु, or पूर्वाङ्गिकम् अपराङ्गिकम् with त्नात्. With त्नुल. we have पूर्वाङ्गेतेनम् and अपराङ्गेतेनम् ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाङ्गेतेनम् or पूर्वाङ्गेतेनम् ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणादयो घादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus सुत्रेजातः = सुत्र + अण् = सौत्रः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapāna',

राष्ट्रियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपारीणः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), माम्यः (IV. 2. 94), मामीणः (IV. 2. 94), कात्रियकः (IV. 2. 95) औम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषश्चात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृष being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The प् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका इर्भाः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका मुद्गाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णपराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अण् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्यकः or आमावास्यः ॥ This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or आमावस्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावस्यः, अमावास्यकः, आमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and आमावस्यः ॥

सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुशब्दादपकरशब्दाच्च कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and बुन् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकरशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखापाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥

पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अपाढा-ब-हुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुग् भवति ॥
वात्तर्कम् ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्रारवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां टानौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अविद्याषाढाभ्यां छणपि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishthâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâdhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविद्यासु जातः = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishthâ'. So also कल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vart:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vart:—The affixes ट and अन् come respectively after कल्गुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As कल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vart:—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishthâ' and 'ashâdhâ' As अविष्टीयः and अषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-
च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशब्दात्खरशालशब्दाज्जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजि-
त्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'shatabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजिन् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिक् or शातभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रौहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान्कृतादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus कौन्नः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ज्याप्रातिपदिकात्प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus कौन्नः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = कुत्रे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवेः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and upanīvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ज्याप्रातिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. अवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुत्रे संभवति = सौमनः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाद्दञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशाद्दञ् इत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix दञ् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however कूटि and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्या-दञ् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाद्दञ् would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुण्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुण्यत्-पच्यमा-
नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिरमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुण्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', वैष्णव्यः पाटलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn", वैष्णवा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c.

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालाविति च । सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुत्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ग्रैष्मा त्रीहयः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्यन्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या बुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥

45. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars डञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुनाः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvini. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of आश्वनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्- (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥ ऋत्वणोपवाहः ॥

46. The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grīṣhma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रैष्मम् or ग्रैष्मकम् सस्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थोक्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्वेयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणं चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमणं = मासिकं 'a debt due in a month'. आर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुञ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, बुसात्, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यवबुस इत्येतैः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलपी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलपी ॥ The time in which the āsvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलपि-निकाले देयमृणं=कलपकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवबुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्बुञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमशब्दाभ्यां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मदेयमृणं=ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛddhi, while बुन् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word सन्ना is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वचम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ठ-ञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् बुञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरास्फलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ठञ् also (as well as बुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrāhāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं=सांवत्सारिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः सप्तमीसमेर्थात्प्रातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः=नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्राहोषः or प्राहोषिकः (IV. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say मृगः 'a beast'? Observe निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as : "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति प्रथमासमर्थान्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं सोढञ्चेत्तद्वति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that: सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमभ्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्रादेशिकः or प्रादेशः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra तत्र जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, सुप्ते भवः=सौप्तः "who stays in Sruṅgha". मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तत्र in the sūtra though its annuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ उक्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्यं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यन् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उद्क् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उद्क्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदको मत्स्यः ॥

1 दिशः, 2 वर्गः, 3 पूरा, 4 गणः, 5 पक्षः, 6 धाव्य (धाव्या) 7 मित्रः, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तरः, 10 पथि-
नः, 11 रहसः, 12 अलीकः, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्तः, 18 मुखः, 19 जघनः, 20
मेघः, 21 बृथः, 22 उद्कात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्यायः, 24 वंशः, 25 वेश (विश) 26 कालः, 27 आकाशः, 28
अनुवंशः ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नास्तिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

इतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अ-
स्ति-अहेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dr̥iti'. 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दातेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and अहियम् ॥ अहियम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराड्ढञ्च, तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'gr̥ivā' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = ग्रवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

गम्भीराज्ज्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीरशब्दाद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्देवपञ्चजनेभ्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्मासाद् यज्ञे ऽणो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vārt.—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यम्, दैव्यम् and पांचजन्यम् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

Vārt.—The affix ñya comes after chaturmāsa in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च (ज्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayībhāva Compound, the affix ज्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ The affix ज्य however, does not come after every Avyayībhāva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapāṭha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = परिमुख्यम्, So also परिहनव्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु, 3 पयोष्ठ, 4 पशुल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुद्युप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदादृच्छ ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावादृच्छ प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दादृच्छ वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तददेश्च ॥

वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदमाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीयः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीयः ॥

वा० ॥ मण्मीयौ च प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात् ॥

वा० ॥ स्थाम्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ अजिनान्ताच्च ॥

Kārikā

समानस्य तददेश्च अध्यात्मादिषु चेष्ट्यते ।

ऊर्ध्वदमाच्च देहाच्च लोकोत्तरपदस्य च ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुगजनस्य परस्य च ॥

ईयः कार्योऽथ मध्यस्य मण्मीयौ प्रत्ययौ तथा ॥

मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात्स्थाम्नो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an Avyayībhāva compound, having the word अन्तर as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्देशिकम्, आन्तर्गैहिकम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम् ॥

Vart.—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानग्रामिकम्, सामान देशिकं.

Vart.—So also after the words अध्यात्म, &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

Vart.—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्मः as, और्ध्वन्मिकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

Vart.—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

Vart.—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

Vart.—The words मुख and पाद्व्य ending in तत्, take the affix ईय; as, मुखतीयम्, पाद्व्यतीयम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयस्, परकीयम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

Vart.—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

Vart.—So also the affix दिन (दिनम् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it becomes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यान्दिन उपगच्छति ॥

Vart.—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्थान, as, अवस्थाना ॥

Vart.—So also there is elision after the words ending in अजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहाजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दान्तादव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वादृञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhāva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus परिग्रामिकः, आनुग्रामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलङ्गुलेश्चः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुले- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दाच्चछः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. After the words 'jihvāmûla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अंगुलीयम् ॥

वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गायम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-खौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । शब्दावन्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकावन्यतरस्यां यत्खौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्ग्यः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by ख), and वासुदेववर्गीयः (by छ) ॥
शुद्धिदिवर्ग्यः °वर्गीणः or °वर्गीयः ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament,? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यम् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानइति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्यानेऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्रभव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Taīṅga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तः 'Kārta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवं &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशला is a model giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादृञ् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकादन्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus षात्वणत्विकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नातानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अन्त) udātta and anudātta (नत्)' ॥ The radicals षत्वणत्व and नतानत are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम्, तैडम् &c. A word of two syllables will take ङक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe सांहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निष्टोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Aginshṭoma sacrifices? राजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'yajña-peya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाञ्चौषानिकः, शशौषानिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिशब्दाः प्रवरनामधेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिशब्देभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyāya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यानव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishtika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". विश्वामित्रकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmitra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् छन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशशब्दात्पुरोडाशशब्दाच्च भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix छन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauroḍāśa' and 'puroḍāśa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः शब्दाद्भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्दणौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars टक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

इचजृद्ब्राह्मणर्कप्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताद् ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचच्-
ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरश्चरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इज्जादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and इम् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic :—ऐष्टिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ :—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्चिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars इम्, ठक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पादव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविचिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 सुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमिष, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी 25 व्याय. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुग्राहागतः = सौघ्नः 'what has come from Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ।

उगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वामिग्राह्यो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बाधक-बाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण. ॥

विद्यायोनि-संबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनि-कृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनि-संबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

77. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनि-सम्बन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix बुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादागतम् = औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शैष्यकम्, आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनि-संबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

ऋतुष्टञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतुः-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनि-संबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनि-संबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च ऋतुः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

78. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars बुञ् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम् = होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri.' पौतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वासृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यञ्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादृञ्च तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्कवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्कवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादङ्कवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुञ् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुञ् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैदः, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धमवत् IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्या-
म-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समाशगतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men

also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तरूप्यम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, यज्ञदत्तमयम् ॥

The द् of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondenc (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमयदौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हैमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराज्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूरशब्दाज् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika

बालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।

न वै तत्रेति चेद्व्याज्जित्वरीवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix **य** comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called बालवाय ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to बालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarî.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थाश्चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus सुग्नं गच्छति = लौघ्नः "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also मायुरः ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say पथिदूतयोः "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe सुग्नं गच्छति सार्थः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus लौघ्नः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kānyakubja. So also मायुरम्, राष्ट्रियम् ॥

Objection. The sūtra would have stood better as अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं, for by using अभिनिष्क्रामति, you make the word द्वारं as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (करण) to the action of अभिनिष्क्रमण; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as साध्वसिञ्चनति 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe सुप्तमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुषः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्यादधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चे-
त्स भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुबाख्यायिकार्थस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus सुभेद्रामाधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थः = सौभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadra.' So also गौरिमित्रः, यायातः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say ग्रन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, सुभेद्रामाधिकृत्यकृतः प्रासादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadra'; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽ ख्यायिका = वासवदत्ता "Vāsavadattā, a story relating to Vāsavadattā." सुमनोन्मत्ता, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैरवी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-
भ-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-श्छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ अणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अग्निकाश्यपीयः, इत्येनकपोतीयः, शब्दार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपदीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनयिम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' राक्षोसुरम् गौणमुख्यम् ॥

The words शिशुक्रन् and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं निवासश्चेत्स भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

ब्रुह्मो निवासोऽस्य = ब्रौह्मनः 'a present dweller of Srughna', माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत्स भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus ब्रौह्मनः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वत इति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्तीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः? Observe आक्षौंसा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, सांक्राद्वका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ज्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शाण्डिकादिभ्यः, ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सौस्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । अणोपवादः ॥

92. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शाण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शाण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट, (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ऽणञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अण्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः सौस्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

93. The affixes अण् and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सिन्धवः, वार्णवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-ādi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of वुञ् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोद्गरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 दरद् (दरद्), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 दिसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वत्सोद्गरण, 3 कैमेदुर (कौमेदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 भवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्डयकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थ्यः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सौस्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । अणोपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थश्चानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति त्रयमासमर्थ इत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus बुद्धो भक्तिरस्य = बौद्धः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताददेशकालादठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्तादचित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये; अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अण्; and छ also. Thus अपूपभक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकैः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाष्कुलिकैः, पायसिकैः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe दैवदत्तैः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe बौद्धैः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe श्रेष्ठीः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजादठञ् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठञ् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छानोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken वुञ् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and वुञ्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसति भस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

99 The affix बुम् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani.' So also औपगवकः, कापदवकः ॥ Kshatriyas:—नाकुलकः, साहदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word आख्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥

जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वं भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वुम् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Aṅgās' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौहृकः, वैन्द्रकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गा क्षत्रिया, भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वुम्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Aṅgās'. So वाङ्गकः, सौहृकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes'; (janapadinâm). Observe, पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पाञ्चालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sûtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्वापत्यं = sing. मद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, मद्रौ pl. मद्राः. The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrâs' as well as 'the country called Madrâs'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य मद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वाज्यं (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, वाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य वाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य = वृजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sûtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrâja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrâja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As वाङ्गः or वाङ्गो भक्तिरस्य वाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान्प्रोक्तमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c.) comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकर्षेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्येन कृता मायुरेण प्रोक्ता = मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Paṇini' भाषिणश्च, काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृते) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्ते) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच् and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kalāpa &c. For example सुशर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुशर्मणा प्रोक्तं काठकं = सौशर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas : that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and मन्दकम् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another : as मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-
उखात्-छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्छण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्वक्ष्ये । अणोपवादः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेश्छन्दोधिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयतेष्यते ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तवीयाः, खाण्डिकीयाः, औखीयाः ॥

According to Kāśikā this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्,
अृषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छ-
स्यापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण् of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्त=काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa: not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च ये वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते-
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

Kārika

हरिद्रुषां प्रथमस्ततः छगलितुम्बुरु ।

उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥

आलम्बिश्चरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।

ऋचाभारुणिताण्डवाश्च मङ्गमीयास्त्रयोऽपरे ॥

इयामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî, and 'Vaisampâyana,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpâ: as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरु; उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampâyana: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, ऋचाभ, भारुणि; ताण्ड्य, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरविणः, औलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, भारुणिनः, आर्चार्चभिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalâpî being a pupil of Vaisampâyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampâyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalâpî.' But that is not so, the word Kalâpî being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So

also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडायन also. But that is not the case, Khāḍāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयासमर्थान्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चैव ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages,' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शास्त्रायनिनः, एतारायणः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैत्रीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आइमरथः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाणो-रपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Saunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सांपेय), 5 शाप्पेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय), 14 तल*, 15 ढण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्ध, 20 देवदत्तशठ, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकालुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकशब्दाभ्यां परस्य प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । कठशब्दाद्वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्य इति णिने-
चरकशब्दादप्यणः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Katha and Charaka.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word : and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठाः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Katha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra. Observe काठाः चारकाः श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनो ऽण् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि शब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासित्वाणिनैरपवादः
वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सव्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुथुमितैतलिजाजलिजाङ्गलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिख-
ण्डिसूकरसघ्नसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalâpî'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन्+अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vārtika.

Vārti:—The टि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows :—सव्रह्मचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुथुमिन्, तैतिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसघ्नन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus ईन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो दिनुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-दिनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिनशब्दाद् दिनुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासित्वाणिनैरपवादः ॥

109. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छगलेयिनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-
भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नद-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न द्विष्यते । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्-
निषये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not द्विष्यते ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नदसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नदः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words, of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नदाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sûtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वात्-इनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kṛiśâsya'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नदाः 'the actors who study the Nata Sûtra of Kṛiśâśvin.' Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and कृशाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थादेकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुदाम्ना एकदिक् = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हैमवती, तैक्कुदी, पैकुल्लो ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस्

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेषु धादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेष्वयमपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् & च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलतः, सुशमतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्तसिश्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थानुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्तम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिशालम् दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (यन्त्रोपायानां गौरवं लाघवं चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskarāṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थानुकृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्त भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः=वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हेकुपादो ग्रन्थः, भैकुरादो ग्रन्थः, जालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थाकृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चैतत्संज्ञायते ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम्=माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारघम्, पौनिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरघा and पुत्तिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका+अण्=माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛitti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलालादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चैतत्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारुडकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र (सिरिन्ध्र), 8 सैरिन्ध्र (सैन्ध्रिय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्वद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुह, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवदरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्राभ्रमर-वदर-पादपाद, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवादः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vatara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम्=क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a small bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वदरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादिदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः । चादयश्च प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेस्तुरणिच् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधामाधानेषेण्यण् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिदम्=औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपारीणं ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vārt.—The verb वह takes तु (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, सवाहुः स्वं=सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vārt.—The affix रञ् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ As अग्नीध्रम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to इ (VIII. 2. 39).

Vārt.—The affix 'sheṇyaṇ' comes after समिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus समिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', समिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधाविति तदन्तविधिरुपसंख्यायते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं=रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथम्, उत्तमरथम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्द्वयशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आद्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औद्वरथम् ॥ गार्धभ रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृत् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाभ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added.

This debars अञ् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अद्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् = आद्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गर्दिभम् ॥ So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीरादठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराद्व्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यस्मिन्विषयेऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्वुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-वुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वात्तत्ताद्-वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अञ् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाध्व्यशालङ्कायनिका, काकोलु-किका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अत्रिभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्वुञ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

126. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अञ् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—रौत्तुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'. So also कालापकम्, मौदकम्, पैपलादकम् ॥

संघाङ्गलक्षणेष्वाञ्जिआमण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्ग-लक्षणेष्वाञ्ज-यञ्-इजां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वञ्जन्ताद् यञन्ताद् इञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वुञो उपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्ग though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars वुञ् of the last aphorism.

Vārt :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अञन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—बैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यञन्तात् (IV. 1. 105)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151) 'a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyās? इञन्तात् (IV. 1. 95),—राक्षि + अण् = राक्षः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ्, यञ् or इञ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15), Thus बैरी ॥ It further prevents पुंवङ्गाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, बैरी विद्याऽस्य = बैरीविद्यः i. e. बिदानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशब्दात्संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाण्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वुञ्-पवादः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ज्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्थिक-याज्ञिक-बह्वृच-नटात्, ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वुञ्णोरपवादः ॥

129. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvṛitti of संघ &c ceases. The ज्य debars अण् and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्मात्मनाययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ न्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also औक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु वुञ् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil,' and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kārīkâ, अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शाक्षाः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākshi." माहकाः ॥ So also गौक्षौ दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिशीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशी, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरमीवि (गौरमीव), 5 औदमेधि (औदमेयि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 बैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रवृत्तोपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hastipada'.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, इकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौ चेकलोपः, तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । चरणवृत्तोपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'ātharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्मांन्नाययोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV. 2. 92 &c), such as घ, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकारः ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अञ् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udâtta on the first syllable, for an anudâtta will have अञ् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयद् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अश्मन् and भस्मन् formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकन् (V. 4. 39) which are âdyudâtta owing to निन् accent. Thus अश्मनो विकारः = आश्मनः ॥ The दि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vârt) As आश्मः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्विकारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कपोतः (IV. 3. 154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मौर्वन् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्ष, as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kârîra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमभ्ययोरपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अञ् and मयद् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवेधुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwâdi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कन्धू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति यथायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः। अञोपवादः ॥

137. After a word having क as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अञ्. Thus तर्कु तार्क्यम्, तित्तिडीक, तैत्तिडीकं; माण्डूकम्, हार्दुकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

अपुजतुनोः षुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपु-जतुनोः-षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपुजतुनोः-षुक् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे, तत्सन्निधौ तयोः षुगागमो भवति। ओरञोपवादः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). As, अपुणो विकारः = आपुषम्; जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवादः ॥

139. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus ऐवहारम्, भद्रहारम् ॥ The words ऐवहार and भद्रहार are âdy-udâtta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतद्रव्यानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवादः ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudâtta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus दधिस्थम्, कापिस्थम्, माहिस्थम् ॥ The word दधिस्थम् is an upapada-samâsa of दधि + स्थ, the स being changed to त; and it is finally acute by ऊदुत्तरपर प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकाभ्यो वा ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पौलाशम् or पालाशम् so also खौदिरम् or खादिरम्, यौवासम् or यावासम् ॥

This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिंशपा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 खदिर, 3 शिंशपा, 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 यवास, 9 विकङ्कत.

शम्यादृलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-दृलञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशब्दाद् दृलञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अञोपवादः ॥

142. The affix दृलञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars भञ् ॥ Thus शमीलं भस्म, शमीली सुक् (IV. 1. 60).

मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-वा-एतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभक्ष्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिमात्राद्वा मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भक्ष्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये यथायथं प्रत्ययेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

143. The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अश्ममयम् or आश्मनम् (IV. 3. 134) 'मूर्वानयं or मौर्वम् (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness बैल्वः खादिरौ वा शूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe मौदः शूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कपोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चाभक्ष्याच्छादनयोर्विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आन्नमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words :—शरमयम्, हर्ममयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयद्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sūtra. Thus, खड् मयम्, झङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्म, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (बल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं=milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

146. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैटी सुरा in the sense of तस्यैवम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे संज्ञायां विषये । मयदोपवादः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रीहेशब्दान्मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । बिल्वाद्यणोपवादः ॥

148. The affix मयद् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puroḍāsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus त्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रैहम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवशब्दाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन्. (यावदिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचश्छन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकाच् छन्दसि विषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143. Thus पर्णमयः, वर्धमयः, शरमयः in the following यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति, वर्धमयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बर्हि भवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्वर्द्धबिल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वर्द्ध-बिल्वात् (मयद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद्वर्द्धबिल्वशब्दाभ्यां च मयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिक्यम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चक्रम्, वार्ध्नी बालप्रमथिता भवति; बेल्वो ब्रह्मवर्चसक्रामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्त्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमयान्यभ्राणि ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words ending in उ, but also to words having उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words ending in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वैणवी यष्टिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is ādy-udātta by तुणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्मुत् is formed by the affix उत् plus the augment मुद् (मुद्गोः, मोमुद्च Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अम् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गौमुत् ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्या एतं गर्भं चरुं निर्वयेत् ॥ The word चरुं is ādy-udātta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडासीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिशम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 ऐन्द्रालिश, 4 ऐन्द्रावृक्ष, 5 ऐन्द्राद्युध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्ग), 7 इया-माक, 8 पीयूषा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशास्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडासीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकं निष्कः, हाटकं कार्षापणम्, जातरूपम्, ताप-नीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यष्टिरियं हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणासी-नामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudātta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudātta in the beginning.

Thus :—कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैच्चिरम्, राजतम्, सैसम्, लौहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्डकार &c, which have anudātta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उडुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शरु, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि-भीतक, 9 पीतशरु (कपीत, शरु), 10 तीव्रशरु, 11 त्रिकण्डक, 12 कण्डकार.

जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जितः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रित्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्ययमर्शः । त्रियोविकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्भ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरिव । मद्यदोपवादः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ् denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), टलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV. 3. 154) वुञ् (IV. 3. 157), डञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus देवदारवस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा=देवदारवम्; so also साधित्यम्, पालाशम्, शमीलम्, कापोतम् औष्ट्रकम्, ऐण्यम्, कांस्यम्, पारशवम् ॥

Why do we say जितः? Witness बैल्वमयं. Here मद्यद् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अञ् of IV. 3. 136. So also बैल्वमयम् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्बतेष्टमित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारोऽतिविद्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अञ् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतम्=नैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikâra also, निष्कस्य विकारः=नैष्किकः formed by टक् (V. 1. 20). As शतेनक्रीतं=शत्यं or शतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः=शत्यः or शतिकः by टन् and यत् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं=साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः=साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27 by अञ्) ॥

The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sûtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sûtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्राद्वुञ् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्राद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राग्बभोपवादः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दादूर्णशब्दाच्च वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यञोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word एणी ॥

Thus ऐणेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐणम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । ओरञोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वय** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रव्यम् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले तद्विशेषे विवक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं=आमलकी+मयद् लुक्=आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वट्टरम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । प्लक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अत्रोपवादः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debarb अम् ॥ Thus प्लक्षम्, नैद्यमोधम् ॥

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यमोध, 3 अन्धत्थ, 4 इङ्गुली, 5 शिम्, 6 रुह, 7 कक्षतु (कर्कण्डु, कर्कण्डु कक्षतु) 8 बृहती. ॥

जम्बू वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्बू-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बूशब्दात्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अत्रोपवादः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debarb अम् ॥ Thus जम्बु+अण्=जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अम् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बु+अम् (IV. 3. 139)=जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्बूः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । युक्तवद्भावे विशेषः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लुप्कारणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बु+अमूलुप्=जम्बूः, as, जम्बूः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्बूः फलं=जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vart.—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens : Thus ब्रीहिः—ब्रीहयः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vart.—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots : as, मल्लिकायां पुष्पं=मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः ; so also विशर्षा मूलं=विशरी ॥ अशुमती बृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पादलानि पुष्पाणि, शालानि मूलानि ॥ So कदम्बं पुष्पं, अशोकम्, करवीरम्, बैलानि फलानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने युक्तवद्भावे स्त्रीप्रत्ययभ्रवणे च विशयः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Harîtakî' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं=हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शक्कण्डी (शाकण्डी) 5 हाडी, 6 होडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 ध्वाक्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा) 12 गभीका (गर्गरिका) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा* (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 दडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्जौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्ज-अञ्जौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्कीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं य-अञ्जौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तत्संनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्युगं भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansîya' and 'paras-avya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय+यञ्=कंस+यञ्=कंस्यः so also पारशव from परशव्य thus परशव्य+अञ्=परशु+अञ्=पारशवः ॥

The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कम् is added first the Uṇādi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस ; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर+शु is added the affix उ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and उ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकान् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sūtra ; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prâtipadika. But स and उ are added to a Dhâtu and not a prâtipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word परशव्य being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अच् by IV. 3. 140. The present sūtra teaches the elision only of its affix यत्, अच् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कसीय and परशव्य will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final य् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sūtra?

A. The final य् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्टक ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-वहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्वहति संशब्दनाद्यानर्थाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्य-
यस्तेषुधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आहोप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गच्छतौ परशारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adbhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षौ दीव्यति = आक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ठक् = आक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

Vart:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्य-
शब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vart:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः,
प्राभूतिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vart:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति
= सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौखराजिकः, सौखशायनिकः ॥

Vart:—So also after परशारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits
adultery with': as परशारान् गच्छति = पारशरिकः, गौरुतल्पिक ॥ The word तल्प here refers
to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति
जितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थार्थे दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥ अभ्या खनति = आभ्रिकः, कौशालिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितं = आक्षिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus आक्षिकौ and आक्षिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षैर्दीव्यत् will give also आक्षिकः ; so also आक्षिकस्त्वम् आक्षिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्कारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, वार्द्धकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, और्दुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाद्-ठञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छशब्दाद्-ठञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

6. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus गौपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्वयचष्टन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-द्वयचः-ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौशब्दात् द्वयञ्च प्रातिपदिकाद्-ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

Kārika

आकर्षात्परिभेक्षादिभ्यः कुसीरसूत्राच्च ।

अवासयात्किशरीरैः पितः षडेते ढगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, घटिकः, प्लविकः, बाहुकः ॥

The ष in षन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ए occurs in these sūtras only IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, 53 and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus दध्ना चरति = दाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, ह्रीस्तकः 'who travels by an elephant'. शाकटिकः ॥

आकर्षात्-छल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षशब्दात् छल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

9. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'âkarsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् परिभेक्षादिभ्यः कुसीरसूत्राच्च, अवासयात्

किशरदिः बितः षडेते ढगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sūtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicative 'sh.' Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक f. आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्पादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्पादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्प इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ष् for डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्पिकः f. पर्पिकी, अश्विकः f. अश्विकी ॥ पर्विकः f. पर्विकी ॥ The पाद् is changed to पद् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्प, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पाद्: पक्ष ॥

श्वगणादठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वगणशब्दादठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् छन्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. f. श्वगणिकी ॥ ठन्, श्वगणिकः f. श्वगणिका ॥

The form श्वगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus श्वगण+ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before व् in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्गण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्गण्डकः, धानुष्कः, शण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्डः 5 जाल, 6 वेश (वेस), 7 उपवेश (उपवेश, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवास्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपदेश, 15 स्फिज्* (स्फिज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ*, 18 उपस्थान, 19 उपहस्त*, 20 स्रज्. ॥

वस्नक्रयविक्रयाद्ठन् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्यां ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । टकोपवादः ॥

13. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars टक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधशब्दाच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकारादृच्छ जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे टक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्साङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप्, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पुट*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix घञ् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhasra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41). So भरदिकः f. भरदिकी ॥ The

word भस्त्र means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 भस्त्रा, 2 भरद, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 शीर्षभार, 5 शीर्षेभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां विभाषा इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix इन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vīvadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधेन हरति = वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक्, we have वैवधिकी in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kāsikā has added वीवध from a Vārtika.

अणकुदिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण, कुदिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुदिलिकाशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थादण् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुदिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुदिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याधे = कौदिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुदिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौदिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुदिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, द्यूतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षद्यूतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = आक्षद्यूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So जानुप्रहतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षद्यूत, 2 जानुप्रहत (प्रहृत), 3 जङ्घाप्रहत (प्रहृत), 4 जङ्घाप्रहत*, 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्ठकर्मर्दन, 7 गतानुगत*, 8 गतागत, 9 यातोपयात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रेर्मन्त्रित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्ताइत्येव, द्वितः कित्तरित्यर्थं विशदय्यो गृह्यते । अचन्तान्नित्यं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुपच् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पच् + क्त्रि + मप् = पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from डुवप् we have वप् + क्त्रि + मप् = उप्त्रिमम् (VI. 1. 15): from डुकृप् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix क्त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं = पाकिमम् (पच् + घञ् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so स्यागिमम्, सेकिमम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्ताइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतो, निर्वृत्ताइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = साधकम् 'smeared with curds.' मारिचिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, पैप्पलिकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sansṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । ठकोपवादः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrna' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ पूषाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य ठको लवणशब्दाल्लुग् भवति ॥

24. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवगूः (I. I. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' मौद्गे यवागूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिक्ते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौपिकम्, खारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवंपूर्वेभ्य ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तत् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favorable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' पातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थवर्ततइत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'.

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिपार्श्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayībhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थप्रयच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्द्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं चेन्नङ्गवति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्धुषिभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vart.—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अधर्मणः. 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्दचौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, छन्-
छचौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यमित्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धि, स्तदर्थं द्वयं कुसीदम् । एकादशार्था दश, दशैकादशाब्देनो-
च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशाब्दार्था यथासंख्यं छन् छच् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

31. The affixes छन् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'dasaikâdasa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condi-
tion that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादशः ॥
This sūtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes छन् and छच् is in
the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + छन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. 1.
41). So दशैकादशिकः fem °की ॥

उञ्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थोऽुञ्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the se-
cond case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans
that'.

Thus बह्मण्युञ्छति = बाह्रिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. इयामाकिकः, काणिकः ॥
To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थोऽरक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second
case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects
that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by
his presence'. So also सान्निवेशिकः ॥

शब्दद्वरं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-द्वरम्, करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तादृति द्वितीयासमर्थार्थां शब्दद्वरशब्दार्थां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । पक्ष्यादेभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. i. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मायूरिकः, तैत्तिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मैनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सौकरिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दान्तादिति द्वितीयासमर्थान्तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुपदम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माथशब्देऽन्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकात्पदवी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words ‘padavī’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus ण्डमाथे धावति = ण्डमाथिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. So also शौत्क्रमाथिकः ॥ Similarly पादविकः, अनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means ‘a way’.

आक्रन्दात्ठञ्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो देशः । अथवा ऽऽक्रयतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तायनमुच्यते । विशेषाभावाद् द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्दशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्भावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारा-द्वठक् ॥

38. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word ‘âkranda’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दे धावति = आक्रन्दिकैः or आक्रन्दिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदशब्द उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्पदात्तरपदशब्दात् तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’, after a word having ‘pada’ as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामशब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’ after the words ‘pratikantha’, ‘artha’, and ‘lalâma’ being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, ललामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayī-bhāva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मं चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तद्विधि द्वितीयासमर्थार्थरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चरति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्माच्चरति = "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, एति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थार्थ एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद्ठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road". the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्तद्विधि द्वितीयासमर्थार्थः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, सामूहिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषद् समवैति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix **ण्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senâ**.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समैवैति = सैन्यः** or **सैनिकः** 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीशब्दाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâta' and 'kukkuṭi', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **ललाटं पश्यति = लालाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called **कौक्कुटिकः** ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्य (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word **धर्म्य** means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word **तस्य** shows the case of the word. Thus **शुल्कशालाया धर्म्य = शौल्कशालिकः** 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also **आकारिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम्** ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

48. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word 'mahishî' &c.

This debars **थक्**. Thus **महिष्या धर्म्य = माहिषम्** 'the usages of queens.' So **प्रजावतम्** ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति°, 3 प्रजावती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 यजमान.

ऋतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नराचेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुर्द्विलोपश्च ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्गिलोपश्च ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus पोतु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri,' औद्गात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtri.' Padamanjari gives the example of होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vārt :—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word विशसितु, the इद् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशस्त्रम् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थाद्वक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus शुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः. So also आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, आकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पण्यं चेत्तद्वदिति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अदृषाः पण्यं अस्य = आपृषिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः &c.

लवणाद्ठक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

52. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars **ठक्**, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्यः छन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

53. The affix **छन्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = किशरिकः f किशरिकी (IV. 1 41), नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशरि, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी.

शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलालुशब्दादन्यतरस्यां छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतद्विषये । ठकोपवादः । पक्षेऽपि भवति ॥

54. The affix **छन्** comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'salâlun'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शलालु पण्यमस्य = शलालुकः f. शलालुकी ॥ In the alternative with **ठक्**, शलालुक्; f. शलालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति प्रथमासमर्थेऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पं चेतद्भवति ॥

55. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मर्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mridanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैणिकः ॥

मड्डुकझर्झरादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मड्डुक, झर्झरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मड्डुकझर्झरशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

56. The affix **अण्** comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art,' after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मड्डुकः or मड्डुकिः, so झर्झरः and झर्झरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थवस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्वति ॥

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य=आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः, धातुक् ॥

परश्वधाट्ठञ् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधाट्ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारश्वधिकः or पारद्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashṭi'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य=शक्तीकः, So also याष्टीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो ऽस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं मतिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', nasti and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य=आस्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट=दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शीलं चे-
द्भवति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य=आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौदाकिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रतिपारिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषयोऽङ्कोपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य=छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्या, संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुच्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्य-
च्छत्रवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्या, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 भुरा,
7 तितिक्षा, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (ऋषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विभ्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनुत्,
15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिबिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!), 20 विक्षा, 21 सु-
क्षा*, 22 मन्द्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं कर्म चे-
द्वृत्तमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य=ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". Similarly द्वैयन्यिकः द्वैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वयन्तिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुच्पूर्वपदादठच् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच्, पूर्वं पदात्, ठच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच् पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बहुच्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ठच् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माध्ययने वृत्तं निरूप्यतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

64. The affix ठच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus :—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्यिकः, चतुर्विंशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udātta, or *vice versa*.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं, चैव भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise : 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तं ॥ Thus अपूपंभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदिकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मादिति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं, तच्च दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आमभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', शाकुलिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means निरन्तरं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

आणामांसोदनाद्विठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ आणा-मांस-ओदनात्, विठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आणामांसोदनशब्दभ्यां विठन् प्रत्ययौ भवति तस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ढकोपवादः ।

67. The affix विठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसोदन ॥

This विठन् debars ढक् ॥ The इ of वि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ढ indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between ढक् and विठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ढक् and विठन् will both be formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix ढम् resembles विठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not ढम् used instead of विठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसोदन the affix ढम् might have been employed instead of विठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix विठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But ढम् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which विठन् does not. Thus ओदन + विठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With ढम् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word आणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to ष as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā त् is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is शृत = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदादि ॥ भक्ताद्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ढकोपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ढक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीतमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो ऽधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकारिकः, आपाणिकः, गौलमिकः, सौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताद्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारशब्दान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ठक् । The difference is in 'accent and want of Vṛiddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थान्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्मशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पाथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चार्तुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आमावास्याकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe सुव्रेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्नेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ वदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थान् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathinâ

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठेति ॥ So also ब्राध्निकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थो वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikata.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसत = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । आवसथशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थो वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ल् of छल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the ष् is for डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्धितसंज्ञादनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामीत्यत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read 'the affix यत् ॥ रथः, युगः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or बोहू therefore रथस्य बोहू will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा ॥

धुरो यङ्ढकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-ढकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेयः (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurā', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samāsānta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सबधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थान्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुग् भवति ।

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurâ' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitârtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samâsânta ष, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थान्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढ = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशाकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. I. 88).

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीराशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थान्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, त्रैसैरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थान्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनी वहति = जन्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्याः 'a bridesmaid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c..

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विध्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेदधनुष्कारणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैद्याः (VI. 3. 53) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these. चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध् is formed from लभ् by तृन्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दाच्चादिति द्वितीयासमर्थादलब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दाच्चादिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा समर्थविभक्तिः । पदशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थार्त् दृश्यार्थोपाधिकादस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन् = पदः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पद्याः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

मूलमस्याबाहिं ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबाहिं-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थार्त्ताबाहिर्व्येवमुपाधिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । मूलमेषामाबाहिं ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाहिं from वृह् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादनं ॥ मूलमेषामाबाहिं = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamañjari the word should be आबाहिं and not आबाहिं, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञाग्रहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding णक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्या भवते इदानीम् ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थार्त्संयुक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'gṛahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (gṛihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni, Or that fire in which Gṛihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवद्व्यानाम्यसमसमित सम्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्व्य-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सम्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽष्टभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽष्टत्वेव तार्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्त्रः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादिनपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विशेषेण वद्व्यः = विद्व्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix प्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit. 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समिते = सीत्यं 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समिते is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्यं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्यं, जन्मसीत्यं, द्विसीत्यं ॥
8. तुलया सम्मितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. सम्मित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prāpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmād anapetam because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sūtra. The 'anapetam' in the next sūtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Shishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sūtra, as referred to by the word prāpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapeta of the next sūtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रीयात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतइचोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यभ्यां समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरस 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरसः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वेशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्पष्ठीसमर्थात् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देशः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चषौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिमहणम् । बद्धते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्पष्ठीसमर्थात्बन्धने ऋषावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनम् ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कर्षेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यश्चिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्चिष्वेव करणादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं=मैत्र्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैन्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैल्यः 'ploughed'. So also द्विहल्यः, त्रिहल्यः, the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sâma-Veda'. So also वैमन्यः, कर्मण्यः, शरन्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 द्वंद्वयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्व जन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताणः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाण् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः=माक्तः शालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भान्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोण्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दाण् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः=काथिकः (कथा+ठक्=कथ्+ठक् VI. 4. 148=काथ्+इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ठ विद्, कुष्ठचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (1) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सङ्ग्रह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आद्युर्वेद. ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्टञ् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gudâ &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः=गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संचात, 10 संक्राम*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः=पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयम् 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दायः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः=सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दृश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद् दृः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix **ढ** comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabhā,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **य** ॥ Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य युवा यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुरिति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थशब्दाच्चत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samâna-tîrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, ओ-च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ओकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोर्द्वयः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix **य** comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोर्द्वयः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta, as it was in the last ; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणादीनां घादीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars ञ्ण, घ &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words मेह्यः and विदुष्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो मेह्याय च विदुष्याय च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ड्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाथशब्दान्नदीशब्दाच्च ड्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ड्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pāthas' and 'nadī,' wherby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः=पाथ्यः, so also नाद्यः ॥ As in the following hymns : तमुत्वा पाथ्यो वृषा, च नो दधीत नाद्यो गिरो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्याम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तशब्दाद्धिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus वेशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हेमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यङ्ङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ड्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतशब्दाद्विभाषा ड्यत् ड्यङ्ङ्यौ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्यङ्ङ्यौ come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यत् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः=स्रोत्यः or स्रोत्यः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ड् causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यत् is added the form is स्रोतस्यः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतशब्देभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayūtha' and sanuta."

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासख्यः 'a younger friend'. So also यो नः सन्तुत्यः उत वा जिघन्तु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घन् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुग्रशब्दाद् घन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घन् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus तुम्रिद्यः as स्वमग्ने वृषभस् तुम्रियाणां ॥ Which assumes the form तुम्रद्य tugrya also. As आबः शमम् वृषभं तुम्रद्यासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुम्र means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

116. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'agra',

Thus अग्ने भवं=अग्न्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for यत् would have come after अग्र by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that यत् is not debarred by च and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

घञ्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् घञ्छौ प्रत्ययो भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अग्न्यम् (by यत्), अग्रीयम् (by छ) and अग्रियम् (by घञ्). And अग्रियम् (by घन्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (Śāyana) इहृत्वष्टारमग्रियम् ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रशब्दादभ्राशब्दाच्च घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रियः and अभ्रियः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मणीषि-
णम् and नानदतो अभ्रियस्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second
member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in
construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु म्रियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वैशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्मणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after
the word 'dûta' in the genitive case in construction, in the
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.
As यत्ते अग्रे दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्ष-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वैशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्य and
यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus'. As
आते अग्रे रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatī', 'jagatī' and
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the
Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रवत्येयं, जगत्येयं

and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revati, Jagâtî or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4.) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष् + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the य् being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थात्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुर्यम् 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्ये वा एतत् पात्रं यच्चकधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्ये द्वेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविशेषे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वधया कृतासि ॥

तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वान्-आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मनुबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थादासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तदासामिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाश्चेत्ता भवन्ति । लुक्-च मतोः इति प्रकृतिनिर्हासः । इतिकरणस्ततश्चेद्विवक्षा । तद्वानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'matup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्वान् is formed by adding मनुष् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुष् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इहं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (âsâm), after a word which ends with matup (tadvân), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्या (वर्चस्वत् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix वत् (मनुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasyân mantra has been pronounced'. So तेजस्या उपधाति ॥ So पयस्याः, रेत्स्याः ॥

Why do we say तद्वान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमान् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विनाब्दो यस्मिन्नेजस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दाद् अण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवाहः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimân, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. I. I.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मनुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नो-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मनुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhâna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मनुप् debaras यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्धन्, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ The present

sûtra ordains मनुप् after मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वैतीरुपधाति 'he collects Mûrdhanvati bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sûtra contains the word मूर्ध्निः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वतः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मनुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मनुप्प्रहितस्तस्मिच्छन्वसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थं विशेषणयोः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तरार्थेवा ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुगकारिकाररेफाश्च वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मनुप् and those having the sense of मनुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मसि = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मध्व्यः, being the names of the months Pausa (Nov-Dec), Phalgun (Feb-March) and Vaisâkha (April-May). The word मध्व्यः is thus formed:--मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मध्व्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly ऋजस्या तनूः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमता प्राज्ञेण चरति, here मनुप् is used.

Vart:—The affix यत् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = माध्व्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

Vart:—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुको मासः ॥

मधोर्जं च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दान्मत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यश्च ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माधुः or मधुः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माधवाः, मधव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसोऽहनि यत्खौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽहन्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसीनं = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशसी आदौ यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yajas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = वेशोर्भग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोर्भग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिरासार्थं उत्तरार्थश्च । चकाराद्यत् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यत्खौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛitti of ख runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वैः कृतमिनयौ च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वैः-कृत-इन-यौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । चकारात् ख च ॥

133. The affixes इन and य as well as ख come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) in the Instrumental case in construction.

The ख is read into the sūtra by force of the word च; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्वैः 'made by the ancestors' i.e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वीणः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गम्भीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्वैर्णेभिः ॥ So also, ये ते पन्थाः सविताः पूर्व्यासः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनियौच; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of च ॥ The examples then will be पूर्वन्; 3rd pl. पूर्वभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्वभिः, or पूर्वैः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अद्भिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्भिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्रशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यम् 'offering purified with water'. As यस्येदमप्यं हविः ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात् संमिताइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra', in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽपां नोर्मयः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दाद् घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रयस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debars the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दाद्भूतितीयासमर्थादर्हतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सौम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brāhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमग्रहणं, यश्चानुवर्तते । मय इति मयङर्थो लक्ष्यते । सोमशब्दान्मयङर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारावयवप्रकृता मयङर्थी ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), अवकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मधोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशब्दो निवृत्तः । मधुशब्दान्मयङर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोक्रान् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुशब्दात्समूहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्मयङर्थे च । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्थउपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुशब्दादपि यद्वक्तव्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vart.—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्यः in the following sentence : "सप्तादशाक्षरछन्दस्यः प्रजापतिर्यज्ञो मन्त्रे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु औषद्, four; यज, two; ये यजा-महे five; and वषट् two ॥

Vart.—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As हस्तौ गृहीतस्य बहुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशो वसव्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रशब्दाद्घः प्रत्ययो भवति स्वार्थे ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛitti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रियेभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवात्तातिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तातिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिम् and प्रक्षिणिदेवतातिर्गुणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तत्सामर्थ्यलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (III. I. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So शंतातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As याज्ञिः शन्ताती भवथो द्वाशुषं (Rig I. 112. 20) शंताती being dual of शन्तातिः, and meaning सुखस्य कर्तातिः; so also अथो अरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.



See #2 I.

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